ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME LI
NUMBER 1

PAPERS &
RECORDS

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EDITED BY J. NORMAN EMERSON

NEWS AND REPORTS

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TORONTO : PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE SOCIETY : 1959
Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa

$3 ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP FEE.
At the annual meeting in June 1954 at Ottawa the membership fee was changed to $3, effective 1 January 1955.

ONTARIO HISTORY

The Quarterly Journal of the Ontario Historical Society
Morris Zaslow, Editor

VOL. LI WINTER 1959 No. 1.

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News and Reports 24, 37-8, 42, 48

Single copies: $1.00.

Address all manuscripts and communications to the Editor, Care of Department of History, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

Public Archives of Canada. Lieutenant Sempronius Stre

YORK BARRACKS, U.C., MAY 13, 1804

Among the interesting activities being carried on by the soldiers may be seen men engaged in "stump and in sawing planks with a whip-saw, one man standing in a pit in this typical pioneer work.

—*Courtesy of Ontario Publishing Company, Don*

THE CAPTURE OF YORK*

By Charles W. Humphries

As afternoon yielded to dusk on April 26, 1813, two figures could be discerned tramping the two-mile stretch of road that ran from York to the fort. They were Quartermaster Finan, of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and his son, who had been in York for the day.[1] A third person, Captain McNeale of the Grenadier Company of the 8th (King's) Regiment, hastened to catch up with them, and the trio continued toward the fort as the shadows lengthened. McNeale spoke of his plans for the next day and talked "confidently of being in Fort George, the next town, on a certain day, as if no untoward circumstance could intervene."[2]

In town, the rector of York, the Reverend Dr. John Strachan, having earlier performed the pleasant ministerial chore of marrying a young couple,[3] busied himself with the task of writing a letter to James Brown, a fellow clergyman. He complained that: "owing to the mismanagement of our little Navy we lost the command of the Lake last summer, and shall not regain it till we procure good officers from England, those we have do not belong to the Royal Navy and not having seen service are without experience."[4] He continued: " . . . this country cannot be defended, if we possess not the command of the Lakes. The weakness and imbecility of our Commander in Chief has produced all our defeats. We might have destroyed the enemies [sic] ships last winter but miserable forbearance and not vigour was at that time the order of the day. If this country fall Sir George Prevost and he only is to blame."[5]

In a bedroom of his large frame dwelling on the west side of Frederick Street, just south of King,[6] Prideaux Selby, the Receiver General of Upper Canada, lay mortally ill. John Hunter, the messenger of the House of Assembly, was occupied with the job of stoking up the stove in the office of the Clerk of the Assembly. Before long, Hunter would be asleep in this office where he had spent every night during the winter months.[7]

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*Based on chapter II of the writer's thesis "Upper Canada in 1813", completed January 1959 as a requirement for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Modern History, University of Toronto.

1. P. Finan, *Journal of a Voyage to Quebec, in the Year 1825, with Recollections of Canada, during the Late American War, in the Years, 1812-13* (Newry: Alexander Peacock, 1828), 282.
2. *Ibid.*
3. John Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto,* III (Toronto: John Ross Robertson, 1898), 407.
4. Public Archives of Ontario (hereafter referred to as PAO), *Strachan Papers,* Strachan to Brown, April 26, 1813.
5. *Ibid.*
6. John Ross Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto,* I (Toronto: John Ross Robertson, 1894), 11-12.
7. *Ninth Report (1912) of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* (Toronto, King's Printer, 1913), 143. From the *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada,* fifth session of the sixth Provincial Parliament, Friday, March 11, 1814. Petition of John Hunter to the House of Assembly.

The normal routine of the little town was soon shattered by an alarming discovery. From the Scarborough bluffs, someone had sighted the American fleet to the east of York.[8] By the time McNeale and his friends reached the fort, all was bustle and activity.[9] The signal gun was fired to summon the militia to York and to battle. At his home in Markham township, Matthias Saunders, sometime ship builder and owner, knew that something was amiss in York when he heard that gun booming out its alarm across the farms and fields. He quickly set out for the fort and his place, as a private in John Willson's company of the First Regiment of York Militia.[10] Behind him, Saunders left a wife and six children.[11]

Ely Playter, a lieutenant in the Third Regiment of York Militia, had just arrived home from the fort. He was soon summoned from his farm near the Don at the request of Major William Allan of the Third York Regiment, otherwise a leading merchant and postmaster of the capital. He hurried down to York to find both the troops and militia busy preparing—and sending out—guards and patrols.[12] He set out to find Major Givins—the local official of the Indian Department—in order to obtain the assistance of the Indians in preparing the defences. Playter located him with Maj.-Gen. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, Brock's successor as commander of the forces in Upper Canada and as civil administrator at the Government House. Sheaffe, refusing to be overly alarmed by the appearance of the enemy, was confident that they would wait till sunrise before commencing any action. He told Playter to sleep at the Government House until morning, when there would be sufficient time to organize to resist the attack.[13]

In the dark of that night, the pace of activity quickened in the little town. Donald McLean, the Clerk of the House of Assembly, made a hurried trip to John McGill's home. He removed from there, in its owner's absence, the papers pertaining to the office which McGill held: Inspector General of Public Provincial Accounts.[14]

At Sheaffe's behest Chief Justice Thomas Scott and Justice William Dummer Powell—like Selby and McGill members of the Executive Council—hastened to the house where Prideaux Selby lay in a state of insensibility. The public money, amounting to £3,109 .1 .8¾,[15] which was at the Receiver General's, was uppermost in their minds.[16] Determined

8. *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812*, ed. William Wood, II (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1923), 89. Sheaffe to Prevost, May 5, 1813.
9. Finan, *Journal of a Voyage . . .*, 282-283.
10. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter referred to as PAC), *Upper Canada Sundries*, Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 19, No. 49. Petition of Elisabeth Saunders.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 45. Petition of Elisabeth Saunders, February 8, 1814.
12. PAO, *Diary of Ely Playter*, Entry for April 26, 1813.
13. *Ibid.*
14. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries*, Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 17, No. 116. McGill to Sheaffe, May 17, 1813.
15. PAO, *Upper Canada State Books*, Vol. F, p. 128. Report on Mrs. Derenzy's application. (This material is on microfilm).
16. *Ibid.*, p. 120. Derenzy to de Rottenburg, July 5, 1813.

that the Americans should have none of it, they counselled Mrs. Derenzy, Selby's daughter, to remove this sum to a safer place. Mrs. Derenzy agreed to this. However, before sending off an iron chest, containing the government funds, to a place of safe-keeping, Mrs. Derenzy removed a portion of it, supposedly six hundred dollars.[17] This she put in a smaller iron container along with the public papers. The latter receptacle was then trundled off to Donald McLean's, since it was supposed that no one would suspect the Clerk of the Assembly of having much ready cash.[18] The larger strong-box was secreted elsewhere.

William Warren Baldwin, York's practitioner in both law and medicine, fretted about what would happen to his valuables should the Americans land. His home at the corner of Frederick and Front Streets, was next to the dockyards where a 30-gun ship was on the stocks; consequently his property was a likely mark for any pillager.[19] Having hit upon a plan, he bundled up his silverware and someone's black silk gown and sent them out of town to a friend's barn. There, he was confident, they would be out of danger.[20]

To the east of the town, at the head of the bay of York, were quartered Captain Eustace's company of the 8th (King's) Regiment and some of the York militia. They were left there to forestall any American attempt on that flank.[21] The balance of Sheaffe's regulars, slightly over two hundred in number, were at the fort located on the triangular knoll which rose between Garrison Creek and the lakeshore; thus situated across from the western tip of the peninsula, it effectively commanded the entrance to the harbour. Yet though its location may have been ideal its defences were not. Despite Brock's complaint about the state of the post in 1811 only a stone magazine had been constructed in the interim, lack of supplies preventing further improvements. And the number of troops was never large; even the chance arrival of some of the 8th Regiment only increased the strength of the regulars at York to 300 men.

Uneasily the troubled town waited for the dawn. By four a.m. John Strachan was out of bed and, getting dressed, he was soon mounted up and almost eagerly looking for an excitement-filled day.[22] In the gray light he could discern the ships of Commodore Isaac Chauncey's American fleet, some fourteen in number, lying close to the south shore of the peninsula in front of the town.[23] The ship *Madison* of 28 guns, the brig *Oneida* of 18 guns, and twelve schooners, of from three to nine guns

17. *Ibid.*, p. 122. Deposition signed by Leah Allan, S. Heward and William Roe, July 23, 1813.
18. *Ibid.*
19. PAO, *Norton Papers,* Baldwin to Wyatt, April 6, 1813.
20. PAC, *War of 1812 Losses – Claims presented to the Commission of 1823-25,* Record Group 19, Series C1, Vol. 23, Claim 520.
21. *Select British Documents . . .* , Wood, II, 90. Sheaffe to Prevost, May 5, 1813.
22. See footnote 4.
23. See footnote 8.

each,[24] held about seventeen hundred soldiers, in addition to an undetermined number of marines.[25]

For the assault upon Fort York was a major American operation and was under the supreme command of Major-General Henry Dearborn. Some four thousand men had been assembled at Sackett's Harbour for an attack upon Kingston and York, the hope being that the capture of the two British naval bases on Lake Ontario would also allow Chauncey to win control of that vital body of water. The original plan had been to direct the attack against Kingston, but early in April Dearborn had become convinced that Prevost had reinforced the Kingston naval base with several thousand British regulars—a completely unfounded belief. Consequently he had decided to shift his attentions to York, a far less formidable enterprise but one that was not without its merits. If the vessel under construction in the dockyards could be destroyed and if the *Prince Regent,* the vessel of the Provincial Marine stationed at York, could be captured, the effect upon the British lake squadron would be most serious. In any event, since York was the capital of the upper province, some prestige at least was to be gained by its capture.

As the sun began to take a firm hold on the day, a fresh breeze sprang up from the east. The American ships weighed anchor and sailed for a position to the west of the fort. Shortly, they came to anchor off the point where old Fort Rouillé had once stood, a little more than a mile west of the fort.[26]

Waiting on shore to see what the next enemy move would be, Sheaffe had another opportunity to assess his strength. He had a handful of regulars—two companies of the 8th (King's) Regiment, one of them under McNeale, about a full company of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, a company of the Glengarry Light Infantry, a Bombardier and twelve Gunners of the Royal Artillery—the nearly three hundred York militiamen, a few dockyard workers, and one hundred Indians under Major Givins. In all, he had no more than seven hundred soldiers at his disposal.[27]

As eight o'clock approached, Sheaffe could see a considerable number of small boats gathering near the *Madison.*[28] Taking his first concrete defensive step, he ordered the regular troops—except for Eustace's company, which was still to the east—into the ravine to the west of the fort. Major Givins and his Indians were sent into the woods, west of Fort Rouillé, to oppose the enemy landing.[29] The company of Glengarry Light Infantry was directed to support them. The lateness of this order con-

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24. PAO, *Kingston Gazette,* May 25, 1813. Description of the United States' squadron on Lake Ontario. (This material is on microfilm).
25. PAO, *Kingston Gazette,* June 15, 1813. Chauncey to Jones, April 28, 1813.
26. See footnote 8.
27. *Select British Documents* . . . , Wood, II, 92. Sheaffe to Prevost, May 5, 1813. PAO, *Kingston Gazette,* June 15, 1813. Dearborn to Armstrong, April 28, 1813.
28. See footnote 25.
29. See footnote 8.

siderably piqued Strachan and partially accounted for his feelings toward Sheaffe when this day was over.[30] However, there was little else that Sheaffe could do but wait and allow the enemy the first move. The poverty of his force denied him any opportunity of placing it in some sort of lengthy line of defence. As a consequence, he had to let the Americans come to him. Strachan, who offered no alternative scheme, never forgave Sheaffe for his wait-and-see attitude.

The militia failed to arrive on time in the ravine because of a general tardiness, probably the result of hesitancy about doing battle. This made it necessary for Sheaffe to send out the Grenadier Company of the 8th Regiment, under McNeale, and the Royal Newfoundland Regiment to aid Givins' group.[31] Such an order saved the bulk of the 1st and 3rd York Regiments from encountering the enemy in any real engagement. Instead it was the Grenadier Company which found itself up against the landing Americans. As a result, the mettle of the militia never received a real test, and most of them were able to harvest the summer crops because they never fought the Americans that day.

The second company of the 8th, under Captain Eustace, with some of the militia, was ordered to come up to the assistance of the rest of the troops.[32] Aeneas Shaw, Adjutant General of the Militia, led part of his force on to the Dundas Road, north of the woods, in order to protect the rear of the troops who were engaged. Shaw contributed to the success of the American landing by taking the Glengarry company with him on this project. Instead, the Glengarry Light Infantry should have been the first group to advance to the side of Givins and his Indians.[33] This piece of bungling and the general slowness of the militia meant that when the Americans, taken off course by the east wind, landed above Fort Rouillé and nearly two miles west of the fort, they were opposed initially by the Indians alone, who were only supported by the Grenadiers of the 8th and the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. These British regulars, still unused to the terrain, found the woods a hindrance to both travel and battle.

As the American advance group, comprised of riflemen under Major Forsyth,[34] approached the shore, there were only Indians present to open fire upon them. The enemy soon succeeded in establishing a beachhead. The Grenadiers hurriedly came up to help the Indians, but the now-reinforced Americans held their position and began to cut into the numbers of McNeale's company. McNeale himself fell,[35] and Donald McLean, the Clerk of the House of Assembly who had volunteered with the 8th that morning, was mortally wounded on the shore.[36]

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30. See footnote 4.
31. See footnote 8.
32. See footnote 21.
33. *Ibid.*
34. PAO, *Kingston Gazette,* June 15, 1813. Dearborn to Armstrong, April 28, 1813.
35. *Select British Documents . . . ,* Wood, II, 86. Sheaffe to Prevost, April 30, 1813.
36. *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal: 1817), 229.

On the march, but still over two miles to the east, Captain Eustace's company heard the firing and increased its pace.[37] Seven miles east of town, Ely Playter's group of 3rd York militiamen, vainly looking for Americans from that quarter, caught the sounds of the early firing and hastened back toward York on the double.[38] Within half an hour, the American troops had driven back the Indians, Grenadiers and Newfoundlanders and had firmly established themselves, despite several rallies staged by the British under the personal direction of Sheaffe. By ten o'clock, over a thousand American soldiers were on shore and Brigadier-General Zebulon Pike, the noted explorer, assumed command.[39] Fewer than two hundred British regulars had been on hand to oppose this landing.

Once the American troops were on shore, Commodore Chauncey ordered his ships to make sail into the bay, against a steady east wind.[40] On shore, part of the battered 8th made its way to the fort for medical aid. Chauncey then commenced a fire both upon the western battery—about half-way between Fort Rouillé and Fort York—and the fort itself.[41] To cope with the ever-increasing fire from the American vessels—which were now located nearly on a line between the point of the peninsula and Fort York—the British had only three twelve-pounders and two semi-obsolete eighteen-pounders.[42]

What was left of the Grenadier company rallied around the western battery to meet the oncoming enemy. Disaster continued to stalk them: the battery's travelling magazine was accidentally ignited and, in the explosion which followed, about thirty-five men, principally Grenadiers, were killed and wounded.[43] The battery platform was ripped apart by the force of the blast and one of the eighteen-pounders was overturned. Despite the ensuing confusion, the travelling magazine was replaced and sporadic firing was continued from this point.[44] However, the western battery could no longer serve as a point of defence, and the loss of so many men made it highly doubtful that Sheaffe could withstand the Americans at any place.

The pounding by the American vessels, which went almost unanswered, was beginning to take its toll. Six American ships were now directly opposite the fort and pouring in a heavy bombardment.[45] An attempt was made to rally the militia at the fort's guardhouse but the enemy fire became so heavy that this group was forced to hide under the cover of the fort's battery. The guns at Fort York were attempting to answer

37. PAO, *Letterbook of Isaac Wilson,* 13. Isaac Wilson to Jonathan Wilson, December 5, 1813.
38. PAO, *Diary of Ely Playter,* Entry for April 27, 1813.
39. See footnote 25.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Select British Documents . . . ,* Wood, II, 90-91. Sheaffe to Prevost, May 5, 1813.
43. *Ibid.,* 91.
44. *Ibid.*
45. See footnote 38.

the American fire but their range was too short and the balls fell harmlessly into York Bay.[46]

Many of the militia, on the scene for the first time, seemed finally ready for battle. An effort was made to form them up in the hollow next to the garrison. Some did organize, but they were more than discouraged in this work to find the tired and beaten British regulars passing by them on their way to town.[47]

By this time, since he found his position untenable, Sheaffe had made his decision. He was scarcely able to reply to the ships' barrage and, although it had done little damage thus far, it would be foolish to suppose that it could remain ineffective much longer. He had seen one company of the 8th virtually wiped out and the heavy casualties of the other regular troops. A fight could be made at the fort, but the fire of the American vessels would probably weaken it first, and then the American troops would ultimately topple the fort by sheer weight of number if nothing else. What was to be gained by such a fight? Obviously nothing; York would be lost, and much more, further casualties would be sustained, and the military and civil leader of Upper Canada would probably become an American prisoner. A further stand by Sheaffe might have been quite heroic and in the finest tradition, but it would have been too costly and would have gained nothing. The die was cast for Sheaffe: he would retreat to Kingston and take with him those regulars still capable of performing the march.[48]

Sheaffe refused to allow the advancing Americans to have anything that could be demolished. He gave the order to have the grand magazine blown up.[49] Apparently this command was not general knowledge and, as this order was being executed, Ely Playter busied himself inside the fort, picking up his coat and advising the female cook to leave as the Americans were almost upon them.[50] Matthias Saunders, also inside the post, struggled with a portable magazine that had served the twelve-pounder at which he had been stationed.[51] He was eager to carry it off so that the Americans would have one less prize to claim. John Basil, the doorkeeper to the Legislative Council, was really too old for war, but he had gamely volunteered with the 3rd York that morning. His legs failed to keep him up with the rest of the retreating group and he lingered near the post.[52]

Six hundred feet to the east of the fort, Pike led an eagerly advancing American force.[53] The roar of the exploding magazine ripped the air

46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. See footnote 43.
49. See footnote 35.
50. See footnote 38.
51. See footnote 10.
52. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries,* Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 26, Petition of Content Gugins to Gore.
53. PAC, *John Walworth Papers,* Walworth to Simonds, April 29, 1813.

apart, and then came the destruction. Stones filled the air; small ones bounced along the ground and large ones plummeted to earth and half-buried themselves. Pike, struck on the head by one of the flying stones, fell mortally wounded. In the American 6th Regiment alone, thirteen were killed by the explosion and one hundred and four wounded in varying degrees. As well, the 15th and 16th American Regiments suffered considerably.[54] On the British side, Captain Loring, Sheaffe's aide-de-camp, had his horse killed underneath him.[55] Saunders had his leg shattered by a large stone.[56] Old Basil received wounds both in the head and knee.[57] Joseph Shepard, a private in the 3rd York, dropped with a badly mangled left thigh and three broken ribs on his left side.[58] It was now about twelve o'clock.

It has been stated that about one hundred regulars were killed or wounded by this explosion.[59] Obviously this is not an accurate accounting of the results of this blast, but some damage was done to the British side. It appears to have been the militia who suffered and were exposed to the greatest risk. It can thus be concluded that, although the regulars were ordered out of the area prior to the detonation, the militia were uninformed. Possibly, Sheaffe underestimated the probable dimensions of the explosion when he gave his order. There seems to have been no thought, on Sheaffe's part, of crippling the enemy by this move, although he accidentally did so. Rather, the concern was to eliminate the possibility of valuable stores falling into their hands.

Following the explosion, the bulk of the American force came to an abrupt halt to take stock of the situation, but a few riflemen advanced to the fort and fired a few shots at the retreating regulars and militia. For many of the militia this was their first sight of the Americans and the only time that they were subjected to any sort of rifle fire.[60] The disorganized British withdrew to the dockyards in town where, after further consultation between Sheaffe and his officers, the retreat to Kingston began. John Beikie, the sheriff of York, in writing of Sheaffe's departure, described the position of the residents and militia left behind when he noted that the regulars "left us all standing in the street, like a parcel of sheep."[61]

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54. *Ibid.*

55. See footnote 43.

56. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries*, Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 19, No. 46. Certification of wounding of Saunders, January 4, 1814.

57. See footnote 52.

58. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries,* Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 26. Robert Kerr's certificate, February 19, 1816.

59. Matilda Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War, 1805-1815; Being the Ridout Letters with Annotations* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), 183.

In his booklet, *The Yankees Capture York* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955), Milo Quaife states on page 18 that forty British troops were killed.

60. See footnote 38.

61. C. Thomas, *History of the Counties of Argenteuil, Que., and Prescott, Ont., From the Earliest Settlement to the Present* (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1896), 480. Beikie to Macdonnell, May 5, 1813. The writer is indebted to Colonel C. P. Stacey for bringing this material to his attention.

With the regulars gone, the arranging of a surrender and terms of capitulation was left in the hands of the leading militia officers. Captain J. B. Robinson and Major William Allan set out for the American line with a flag of truce and returned to announce that they had been ordered by the Americans to come back in fifteen minutes.[62] In the meantime, Ely Playter and his militia group, moving towards the town, encountered a regular officer who had turned back on Sheaffe's orders. This band went to the shipyard and fired the new vessel on the stocks and the marine stores.[63] At two in the afternoon, the Union Jack was lowered at the fort and the Stars and Stripes replaced it.[64]

Behind, Sheaffe left sixty-two regulars killed and seventy-six wounded.[65] Forty-five of the killed and forty-nine of the wounded were in the 8th Regiment. " . . . a few of the Indians (Missisagus & Chipeways [sic]) were killed and wounded, among the latter were two Chiefs."[66] The record of the citizens of York is hardly impressive when placed next to that of the regulars. Ensign John Detlor of the 3rd York had his leg badly shattered and an amputation became necessary; he lost much blood both before and after the operation and died the day after the engagement.[67] Private Daniel Murray, 3rd York, was killed during the battle.[68] As has been noted, Matthias Saunders had his leg badly injured by the explosion of the grand magazine; an amputation followed, and he clung to life for close to a month before dying on May 25.[69] Donald McLean, a volunteer, fell at the beach.[70] John Basil never fully recovered from the concussion he received when the grand magazine exploded and died during the summer.[71]

Thus, five Upper Canadians died while fighting for Upper Canada, two of them as a result of the explosion of the grand magazine and not in actual combat. An equal number were wounded: William Jarvie, William Jarvis, Joseph Shepard, Patrick Hartney and Andrew Borland.[72] One

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62. See footnote 38.
63. *Ibid.*
64. See footnote 25.
65. PAC, *C Series,* Record Group 8, Vol. 695A. A nominal list of the number killed, wounded Prisoners & Missing &c, in the Action of the 27 April 1813.
66. *Select British Documents . . .* , Wood, II, 93. Sheaffe to Prevost, May 5, 1813.
67. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries,* Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 18, No. 105. Certificate of death of Detlor signed by Chewett and Allan, November 17, 1813.
The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada (Montreal: 1817), 231.
68. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries,* Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 18, Nos. 116 and 117. Certificate of death of Murray signed by Hamilton, December 2, 1813 and deposition of Frances Murray, December 2, 1813.
69. See footnote 11. *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal: 1817), 109 and 233.
70. *Ibid.,* 229.
71. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries,* Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 26. Certificate of William Allan.
72. PAC, *Militia Pensioners, 1812-1816,* Record Group 9, Series IB4, Vol. 1. Certificates of Allan, March 29, 1814, and O'Reilly, April 20, 1815, re William Jarvie.
PAC, Upper Canada, *Report of Disabilities, Veterans War of 1812,* Record Group 9, Series IB4, Vol. 3. Certificate of Allan, June 16, 1817, re William M. Jarvis.
PAC, *Militia Pensioners, 1812-1816,* Record Group 9, Series IB4, Vol. 1. Certificate of Kerr, February 19, 1816, re Joseph Shepard.
Ibid., certificate of medical board, February 12, 1816, re Patrick Hartney.
PAO, *Diary of Ely Playter,* Entry of April 30, 1813, concerning Andrew Borland.

of these had been injured when the grand magazine blew up. These figures dispel any visions of large losses by the militia, which, in this case, was defending its own land and town. Although there are no accurate figures for Indian losses during this contest, it is fairly safe to assume—on the basis of other battles where both Indians and militia participated—that the Indian casualties were probably just as severe as the Upper Canadian.

Now came the problem of working out a capitulation with the Americans. William Chewett, a lieutenant-colonel of the 3rd York, and William Allan, a major in the same regiment, met with Col. Mitchell, of the 3rd Artillery of the U.S. Army, and Major King, of the 13th U.S. Infantry, in Mr. Crookshank's house on Front Street to detail the terms. J. B. Robinson was on hand to assist from a legal standpoint, and John Strachan hovered over the entire group like York's guardian angel.[6] The American discovery that the ship on the stocks and the naval stores were on fire held up negotiations for a time. The United States officers looked upon this as a dishonest act, undertaken by the Canadians while the talks were in progress.[7] However, since this order from Sheaffe had been executed by a group of the militia who had no knowledge of the capitulation talks, the Americans took no action. In any event, it seems likely that these stores had been fired before the discussion began. By four in the afternoon, the capitulation terms had been agreed upon, subject to ratification by Chauncey and Dearborn.[8]

It was agreed that the regular and militia troops should surrender as prisoners of war and that the naval and military stores at York should be given up to the Americans. In return, the Americans guaranteed the safety of the private property of York citizens and the security of the civil papers of the province. In addition, any doctors attending the wounded regulars and militia would not be considered prisoners of war.[9] While these talks were in progress, some of the militia who did not intend to be taken prisoners had time to stop at Jordan's Inn, on Front Street, for a quick drink before they travelled north to avoid capture and parole.[10]

Upon completion of the terms of capitulation, Major Allan was made a prisoner of war. Because Allan had been under a flag of truce, Strachan was infuriated and, martyr-like, he accompanied Allan to the centre of town in the middle of an enemy column.[11] There is little doubt that Strachan was glorying in this situation and his reaction meant that the Americans could do little with him. In town, the militia who were present were busy grounding their arms.[12] Some were doing this quite willingly.

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73. See footnote 4.
74. Ibid.
75. Fred. Kingston Duncan, June 15, 1813, Chauncey to Jones, April 27, 1813.
76. Simcoe Official Documents. Week 12, terms of capitulation, April 28, 1813.
77. See footnote 58.
78. See footnote 4.
79. Ibid.

Isaac Wilson, writing home to his brother, described the scene in York: "It struck my mind very forcibly the evening after the battle was over to see men who two hours before were doing their utmost to kill one another now convening together with the greatest familiarity. In the evening all seemed as settled and quiet in York as if nothing had happened."[80]

At dusk, the Americans left for the fort, except for Forsyth's rifle corps which stayed on as guards.[81] Wilson noted: "In the night they put a sentry over every store but they could not keep the inhabitants from it who made shameful work in some peoples houses."[82] As shall be seen, he was very much mistaken in what he said.

With the battle over, John Hunter returned to Donald McLean's office and "found the enemy in possession of the House of Assembly whence they took . . . [Hunter's] chest, in which was the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars in army bills, and wearing apparel, books, and other small property. They likewise took a pair of blankets . . the amount of which property, exclusive of the bills, was at a very moderate valuation twenty-nine dollars . . ."[83] Thus, before this eventful day was out, some Americans had found their way from the fort to the House of Assembly on Front Street. However, the bulk of the looting was done on the 28th and 29th of April.

On Wednesday, the 28th, John Strachan went forward to a full day of badgering and verbal sniping. He met Major King at Prideaux Selby's and immediately assailed him on the subject of Major Allan's capture and the matter of the non-ratification of the terms of capitulation by the American commanders, Chauncey and Dearborn.[84] At King's instigation the two men went to Fort York where the American officer in command, Colonel Pierce, was powerless to do anything about ratification. At the post, the captured militia were being kept in the blockhouse without food, and the wounded had had no attention.[85] Pierce ordered food for the prisoners as the wrath of the rector increased.

Since the militia were still unparoled, Strachan demanded that he be taken on board the *Madison* to see Dearborn. However, Dearborn came ashore shortly, and Strachan, charging into the fray, met him and handed him the articles of capitulation for his signature. Strachan followed this with a demand for the parole of the militia and for permission to remove the wounded. Dearborn, his patience running short, told Strachan to leave him alone. The minister, never daunted, searched out Chauncey and told him in no uncertain terms that if the capitulation terms were not signed he would infer that it was a plot designed to give the rifle-

80. PAO. *Letterbook of Isaac Wilson*, 14. Isaac Wilson to Jonathan Wilson, December 5, 1813.
81. See footnote 4.
82. See footnote 80.
83. See footnote 7.
84. See footnote 4.
85. *Ibid.*

men time to loot, for the clause about respecting private property meant nothing while the articles remained unsigned. Strachan informed Chauncey that he would not permit this to happen, then his dire threat uttered, he turned on his heel and stalked away from the American naval commander.[86] It is difficult at this point to understand precisely who had won, and who had lost, in the battle of the previous day.

Word reached Dearborn of Strachan's statement to Chauncey,[87] and to this Strachan attributed Dearborn's sudden appearance and the fact that he now signed the terms of capitulation in an amicable fashion. It is doubtful that Dearborn was actually giving in to Strachan. More likely, it was an act to be performed by Dearborn when it suited his purpose or he had the time. It was now possible to parole the officers and men in the blockhouse and it meant that the wounded could be removed from the fort and cared for.

This incident should not be brushed aside as merely an example of the Anglican minister's pomposity. It had deeper implications. Strachan had stood up to the Americans; he had been British. Here we have one source of his later, and greater, status. He had been present when the Americans had captured York and had not been cowed by the Yankee republicans. He had taken charge—or, at least, given the impression of doing this—when British authority had seemed to be disappearing with the retreating Sheaffe. After the war, he was to take charge in very real fashion in the form of the Family Compact. He had tasted power here, albeit the power of the vanquished, and he had liked it. Had he, in time of defeat, established himself for the next twenty-five years? Had he, by his actions, established some of those vague rules that governed entry into the Family Compact?

On Thursday, the 29th,[88] the leading citizens of York had their memories jogged about the terms of capitulation by Major King. He reminded them that the articles necessitated the surrender of the public money in their possession and, if this was not done, the town would have to make up the difference.[89] John Strachan, Chief Justice Scott, Dummer Powell, Major Allan and Duncan Cameron held a quick consultation and deemed it wise to hand over to the enemy the money which had been removed from Selby's home the night before the attack.[90] The enemy was given £2,144.11.4 ($8,578 1s. 4d.) in army bills which was turned over to Captain Armstrong, of the U.S. Infantry, by the busy rector on behalf of Colonel Chewett and Major Allan.[91]

Outside of this episode, Strachan, with W. W. Baldwin, spent the remainder of the day removing the sick and wounded from the fort to

86. *Ibid.* Much of the preceding account has to be based on Strachan's letter.
87. *Ibid.*
88. PAC, *Upper Canada Militia Correspondence,* April-December, 1813, Record Group 9, Series IB1, Vol. 3. Copy of Armstrong's receipt, April 29, 1813.
89. *Ibid.*, Derenzy to Coffin, June 15, 1813.
90. *Ibid.*
91. See footnote 88.

the hospital.[92] North of town—near the Don River—as dusk was coming on, Ely Playter, who was determined not to be paroled, squatted in the woods near his farm and watched some American troops break down the door of his home and loot it.[93]

Strachan wrote that on Friday "the Govt. buildings [were] on fire, contrary to the articles of capitulation."[94] This notation leads into two major problems that were created by this period of occupation. Who burned the parliament buildings located on Front Street? Who did most of the looting which, by some accounts, was deemed to be extensive?

The burning of the parliament buildings is probably the more difficult question to answer. It is a fact that the American troops were in these buildings sometime during their stay at York. It is also known that they took some loot from them, including that old conversation piece, a scalp. Except for the mention of the scalp, American accounts are vague on this subject or fail to note it. Later, Dearborn vigorously denied that he had ever given any order to fire these buildings.[95]

Recently, Milo Quaife took a thorough look at this problem[96] and, after a searching examination of documents and historical works, came to this conclusion:

> To sum up: . . . Save for the military works and the Parliament houses, no single building was destroyed in the town. No local contemporary charge was made that the Americans fired the Parliament houses, and such evidence as exists points strongly to the conclusion that the act was perpetrated by the Canadians themselves. Insofar as the destruction committed at Washington was based upon alleged prior American destruction at York, it was without justification. Finally, it is far from creditable to the American historical profession that for two generations its foremost spokesmen have been content to repeat, in more or less detail, the amazingly untrue statements of Henry Adams and John B. McMaster concerning the conduct of the American army at York, without troubling to examine for themselves the abundant and easily available contemporary evidence.[97]

Despite his detailed work, Quaife is wrong.

Four local contemporary accounts *do* make the charge that the Americans burned the parliament buildings. The first of these is a letter from John Beikie, the sheriff of York, to his brother-in-law in Prescott. Beikie, who was in a position to know what really happened, made a very definite statement on this subject. What makes his statement important is that it was contained in a private letter which was not to be used for any polemic purpose. There would be no need to stretch the truth, whereas later declarations, used to arouse either controversy or patriotism, might be very suspect. Beikie wrote:

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92. See footnote 4.
93. PAO, *Diary of Ely Playter,* Entry for April 29, 1813.
94. See footnote 4.
95. Milo M. Quaife, *The Yankees Capture York* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1955), 36.
96. Quaife, M.M., *op. cit.*
97. *Ibid.,* 28-29.

> They [the Americans] have burnt the Government House, two block houses, a barrack for soldiers, and other buildings. They have broken every door and window in the Council Office, which was Elmsby [Elmsley] House, and a schooner belonging to an inhabitant of York. They have carried off the "Gloucester," which was undergoing repairs, and was to be converted into a transport, being too old for a ship-of-war. The new ship on the stocks we burnt ourselves, for otherwise, I dare say, they would have done it.[98]

In his diary for April 30, Ely Playter wrote: "The Town thronged with Yankies many busy getting off the publick [sic] stores the Council office with every Window Broke & pillaged of everything it contained the Government Building the Block House and the Building adjacent all burned to ashes . . . "[99] Playter's statement is almost identical to the first half of the quotation from Beikie's letter. By implication he is laying the damages done at the door of the Americans. Besides, if the Americans were burning government property and carrying off stores, why should not these buildings fall within their range of activities?

However, the cases against the Americans does not end here. In two letters, appearing in successive issues in the *Kingston Gazette,* there are further statements on this question. Both of these pieces of correspondence were written when the Americans showed alarm in June of 1813 over the proximity of the British fleet to Washington:

> We are not surprised at the 'anxiety, bustle and alarm,' created by this approach to the Capital of the United States, when the barbarian conduct of the Americans is recollected in burning the Houses of Legislature, Courts, and Public Records, in their late occupation of York; and a private dwelling was sacrificed in the same manner, because it once had been a Government House [the writer is probably referring to Elmsley House] . . . [100]

> . . . They [the Americans at York], it is true, entered into a formal stipulation not only that private property should be respected, but that papers belonging to the Civil Departments of the Government should not be removed or destroyed. Yet the first object they selected for depredation was the Printing Office. They broke and otherwise destroyed the Press; carried off or rendered useless the Types; and burned a large number of Copies of the Provincial Statutes that had been recently printed for general distribution. They then pillaged the Public Subscription Library kept at Elmsley House, carried away a great part of the Books, and did great injury to the house itself. And, to crown all, before they reembarked they set fire to the two houses erected for the accomodation of our Provincial Legislature and Courts of Justice, which . . . were neat and substantial buildings, and had been erected and fitted up at an expence of several thousand pounds. These with the Offices containing all the Journals, a large collection of Books and other appendages connected with such an establishment, were all consumed by the flames; and the bare walls alone remain, a monument of the Gothic ferocity and worse than Punic faith of our enemies.
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> Of these exploits no notice has been taken in the States. They are not attended to in the dispatches of General Dearborn or Commodore Chauncy [sic]; though the latter, in order perhaps to vindicate what he is yet ashamed to

98. See footnote 61.
99. PAO, *Diary of Ely Playter,* Entry for April 30, 1813.
100. PAO, *Kingston Gazette,* August 10, 1813.

avow, condescends to state in his dispatch, that "in the House of Assembly a Scalp had been found appended to the Mace," a most palpable falsehood, calculated for the prejudices of the most violent and ignorant only; and which it is impossible that he or any other man of common sense could believe.

That they should have been silent on a subject so little to their honor is not surprising . . . [101]

Considering the reason for the writing of these two letters, it is interesting to note that, already, a reason for burning Washington had been created, although this did not occur until the following year.

The other charges against the American troops at York, except for the one pertaining to the burning of the parliament buildings, can be verified from a variety of accounts, including American ones, apart from these four. Why, then, should their statements about the parliament building be questioned? If it was common knowledge that the Americans were responsible for this act why would there be any need of propagating a commonly accepted fact? The people of York passed on little knowledge of the affair precisely because they knew all about it. Any argument that anyone, other than American soldiers, burned the parliament buildings is pure conjecture which cannot be substantiated by a solitary fact. What facts there are support the case against the Americans.

The question of looting is dealt with in a little-used group of volumes containing the War of 1812 claims for losses now in the Public Archives of Canada. Out of the total population of six hundred and twenty-five,[102] twenty-two York residents deemed the damage sufficient to enter claims for their losses. As well, one person living beyond the town limits lost possessions to the pillagers.[103] Judging from the character and size of some of the claims it would be safe to assume that everyone who suffered entered claims for losses. Of the twenty-three persons, thirteen had their homes or places of residence entered and looted;[104] five had their stores robbed;[105] two lost their carpenter's tools at the dockyards;[106] two suffered livestock losses;[107] and one had a schooner burned by the Americans.[108] As has been noted, the Americans also destroyed the York printing press and looted the public library. Over twenty-two hundred claims, some of them inadmissible, were entered for losses during the entire war. Thus, just a shade over one percent are for losses sustained when the Americans landed at York.

Who did this looting? Most of the claims are quite specific. Mary Marshall was the housekeeper at Elmsley House, the office of the Execu-

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101. PAO, *Kingston Gazette,* August 17, 1813. Letter signed Falkland.
102. Toronto Public Library, *Minutes of the town meetings of York, Upper Canada & a list of inhabitants of the town and township of York, 1797-1823.* Population figure in July of 1813.
103. PAC, *War of 1812 Losses – Claims presented to the Commission of 1823-25,* Record Group 19, Series C1, Vols. 16-35.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*

tive Council at the corner of King and Simcoe Streets, and was present when it was plundered by the Americans. They took £50 worth of silver articles as well as kitchen utensils, bedding, and wearing apparel belonging to her. In addition, the Americans also stole the baggage belonging to Sheaffe and Brock, and government stores kept there.[109] Patrick Hartney, wounded in guiding the 8th Regiment to the attack, had his home looted by the Americans to the extent of £40.[110] James Givins, who had departed from York with the retreating British, left behind a wife and seven children in their frame house at the head of what is today Givins Street. Their home was pillaged by the Americans. Some of these soldiers were stopped in the course of their looting by William Dummer Powell and Powell took Angelica Givins to Dearborn to ask for protection for herself, her family, and her property. Dearborn informed her that it was not in his power to protect her in her own house, and he recommended that she should take refuge with a citizen of York and not return home. Undeterred, Mrs. Givins went to Strachan's house for the man who had stood up to the American invaders but Strachan soon found out from Dearborn that it was beyond the general's power to guarantee protection to any persons connected with the Indians. The abandoned house was thoroughly plundered by the Americans.[111]

John Small, clerk to the Executive Council, had his home entered and some silver items taken by the troops.[112] John Dennison lost his Regimental sword, bedding and family clothing to the Americans.[113] Elizabeth Andrews[114] and Jordan Post[115] suffered minor losses at American hands. Grant Powell, who was an acting surgeon of the Marine Department and in the field with the forces at the time of the landing, had his home entered and plundered by the enemy. They took household furniture, bed and table linen, kitchen utensils, silverware, wearing apparel, books and Powell's medical instruments; his total loss was £100. John Beikie, Powell's next door neighbour on Front Street, saw the Americans take possession of the house on April 27th, and they retained possession of the house during their entire stay at York. After the enemy soldiers abandoned the House, Beikie rescued several articles from the hands of Canadian plunderers who were taking away what was left once the Yankees were gone.[116]

William Shaw had his home looted of small items by the Americans.[117] Ely Playter, who had just sent his family to Newmarket for safety, was preparing to remove his household valuables when the Americans

109. *Ibid.* Vol. 16, Claim 32 and Vol. 2, 17.
110. *Ibid.* Vol. 16, Claim 33 and Vol. 2, 17.
111. *Ibid.* Vol. 19, Claim 234 and Vol. 2, Claim 234.
See also letter cited in footnote 4.
112. PAC, *War of 1812 Losses – Claims . . .* , Vol. 20, Claim 258.
113. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, Claim 279.
114. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, Claim 282.
115. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, Claim 306.
116. *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, Claim 335 and Vol. 2, Claim 335.
117. *Ibid.*, Vol. 29, Claim 1227.

approached the farm house. Forced to flee, he watched them pillage his home and take some army bills, his sword, a set of razors, a powder horn, a shot pouch, a box of jewellery and some wearing apparel.[118] Edward McMahon, secretary to Sheaffe, had his home plundered by the Americans to the sum of £70.[119] Henry Brown, messenger to Sheaffe, lost £37 worth of personal and household items.[120] John Hunter's loss has already been mentioned.

Among the store owners, Quetton St. George and William Allan suffered the most severely. St. George lost £173.9 worth of goods, ranging from a 890 pound hogshead of sugar to one piece of Russian shirting and eight pounds of sewing silk. This was taken by the Americans on the 27th and 28th.[121] The Americans looted Allan's storehouse on the 28th, while he was at the garrison busy taking care of the wounded soldiers and militia men. They took shot, soap, two barrels of Jamaica spirits and other items. Near sundown, Allan saw them carting away several boxes from his storehouse to the place where they were collecting their plunder. He immediately went to one of the senior American officers and remonstrated about this looting which, he pointed out, was contrary to the terms of capitulation. The American replied that there was ammunition in his store which was always considered lawful booty, whether private property or not. This rule did not cover the rum and soap but, nevertheless, they too went missing.[122]

Thomas Deary, another merchant, lost tobacco, hams, and liquor to the Americans. He entered his store while the soldiers were running amok and finally persuaded them to leave but, to his sorrow, they left the taps open on two casks of liquor, and the precious liquid served only to season the floor beneath.[123] John S. Baldwin, who had yet to set up shop in York, had a hogshead of loaf sugar in St. George's store and this went with the Americans.[124] The contents of Donald McArthur's store helped ease the parched throats of the U.S. troops when they lugged away from it a thirty-eight gallon barrel of whiskey, along with some linen, soap, coffee and chocolate.[125]

Joseph Grenette's clothes and a complete set of carpenter's tools were taken from the York docks by the Americans before the eyes of a witness.[126] Joshua Leach lost his set of tools at the same time, but the philanthropic Americans turned them over to another York inhabitant.[127] Two farmers sustained losses: British Indians, hungry from the day's battle, killed seven cattle on one farm,[128] and the Americans stole a horse from another.[129]

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118. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, Claim 1328 and Vol. 2, Claim 1328.
See also *Diary of Ely Playter*, April 29, 1813.
119. PAC, *War of 1812 Losses – Claims . . .* , Vol. 32, Claim 1710.
120. *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, Claim 1862.
121. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, Claim, 519.
122. *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, Claim 1454.
123. *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, Claim 31.
124. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, Claim 520.
125. *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, Claim 1730.
126. *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, Claim 17 and Vol. 2, 12-13.
127. *Ibid.*, Vol. 17, Claim 92.
128. *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, Claim 34.

Joseph Hendrick, proud owner of the schooner, the *Governor Hunter,* saw his possession go up in flames at the hands of the enemy. However, Dearborn eased his loss by leaving him £300 out of the public money which the Americans had acquired. This sum was delivered to him by the Chief Justice, Thomas Scott.[130]

This, then, is the extent of the losses sustained by the York citizenry. Is there any pattern to it? In many of these cases, empty houses—apparently considered fair game by the looters—were entered and pillaged. The remainder of the sufferers, with the exception of the store-owners, were either connected with the government or lost personal items on government property. People, like John Strachan, Alexander Wood, W. W. Baldwin, Elizabeth Russell, and Dummer Powell, who stayed with their homes, were not bothered. One writer noted at that time: "I kept my Castle, when all the rest fled; and it was well for us I did so, — our little property was saved by that means. Every house they found deserted was completely sacked. We have lost a few things, which were carried off before our faces; but as we expected to lose all, we think ourselves well off.[131]

With the exception of Grant Powell's house, there is no mention of Canadians participating in the looting of private homes, or, for that matter, government property. Why, then, does Quaife state: "The article guaranteeing the sanctity of private property was violated to some extent by the Americans, and to a greater extent, probably, by criminal or disloyal Canadians."?[132] In doing this, he is merely reiterating an oft-repeated charge.

The answer to the question of why Canadians were suspected of looting seems to lie in finding out who ultimately obtained possession of some of these government stores and private property. A lead to providing a solution to this problem lies in the statements of two contemporary writers:

> There was a large quantity of farming utensils which were sent by the Gov't which were sent for the use of settlers in this country. The authorities would not allow these to be given out except to favorites. The Americans distributed these generally to all settlers so their visit to York was very useful in this respect.[133]

> I really attribute this visit to the vengeance of heaven on this place, for the quantities of stores, farming utensils, etc., sent from England . . . were allowed to remain in the King's stores, and nothing of them did they ever get. Now, our enemies have them, to do with them as they please.[134]

These statements explain the necessity of Sheaffe's proclamation of June 4, 1813:

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129. *Ibid.,* Vol. 18, Claim 171.
130. *Ibid.,* Vol. 17, Claim 93.
131. Thomas, *History of the Counties . . . ,* 481. Penelope Beikie to Macdonnell, May 5, 1813.
132. Quaife, M. M., *op. cit.,* 29.
133. See footnote 80.
134. See footnote 131.

> Whereas it is made highly penal by various Statutes to retain possession of Public Stores and property of the Crown, by whatever means it may come into the hands of the possessor, unless through the channels pointed out by Law—And whereas it has been represented to me that large quantities of Public Stores, the property of the Crown, are actually in the hands of divers of his Majesty's Subjects not duly authorized to be possessed thereof—I have thought proper, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Executive Council, for the affairs of the Province, to issue my Proclamation, calling upon all persons so possessed of Public Stores, the property of the Crown, forthwith to restore the same to the Sheriff of the District in which they may reside, or to some person appointed by me to receive and take charge of the same . . .[135]

It is a fact that some Canadians did obtain a quantity of public stores from the Americans as gifts.[136] It would seem that the occupying army did what many such armies had done before, and have done since: they attempted to befriend or, perhaps, bribe the populace. Thus Canadians came into possession of goods, primarily government ones, that had been looted by the Americans. The settlers, some of them in difficult straits and some of them ex-Americans,[137] took what was given to them without asking any questions. In any age, how many people have done otherwise? The Americans looted York, not a motley crowd of pro-republican Canadians. The Canadians have to be characterized as the often willing recipients of stolen goods. Sheaffe's phrase—"by whatever means it may come into the hands of the possessor, unless through the channels pointed out by Law"—substantiates this interpretation.

At the same time, this does not ignore the fact that there were some Canadians, predominantly ex-Americans with dubious loyalties, who, seeing a reward for their efforts, pointed out good places for plundering.[138] Thus, Allan McLean was able to state: "the Enemy were joined by a number of Vagabonds who gave them every information."[139] However, most of this group were prompted more by the thoughts of the booty to be given them, than by any dark designs in the direction of overthrowing the government.[140]

Undoubtedly, the activities of some Canadians led the magistrates of York to meet on April 30 and issue a proclamation designed to prevent anarchy. This document insisted that, despite the occupation, no change had taken place in the relation of the subject to the government and the law of Britain. It also pointed out that it was still high treason to aid the enemy in any way and that the powers of the magistrates continued

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135. PAO, *Kingston Gazette*, June 8, 1813. Proclamation dated June 4, 1813.

136. PAC, *Upper Canada Sundries, Traitors and Treason, War of 1812-14*, Record Group 5, Series A1, Vol. 16. This volume, containing materials relating to treason, verifies this fact in several of the depositions. As well, there are the Wilson and Beikie statements quoted above.

137. *Ibid.* Again, the depositions against supposedly treasonous individuals contained in this volume illustrate this point.

138. *Ibid.*

139. *Select British Documents . . .*, Wood, II, 88. Memorandum by A. McLean.

140. Cited in 136. Several of the documents in this volume illustrate that these people were more concerned about regaining the booty which the Americans had given them and which York officials had, in turn, taken from them, than they were interested in the cause of republicanism.

to exist. As well, it noted that private property could not be subjected to looting.[141]

There was good reason for this meeting because the criminal element of any society has a fine opportunity to run wild in the course of such a disruption as an enemy invasion. The laws of the country must be kept in force in order to prevent outbreaks of lawlessness. Also, the meeting was probably prompted by the fact that, already, public and private goods were sifting through into the hands of eagerly waiting Canadians. However, and this is important, anything that looks like treason was generally prompted by materialistic motives not by any high flying ideals concerning republicanism.[142]

On May 2, the Americans, having been held up by an adverse wind, were finally able to leave York. The stragglers were gathered together and taken out to the ships.[143] The American venture had not been a complete success. The British ship they sought, the *Prince Regent*, had taken leave of York for Kingston on April 24.[144] Large quantities of naval and military stores had not fallen into American hands because they had been previously fired by the British. The nearly finished ship on the stocks had been burned as well. The only British vessel which the Americans had taken was the *Duke of Gloucester* which was undergoing repairs, but Dearborn discarded the importance of this capture when he noted that there was "no vessel fit for use."[145]

Sheaffe and his little band of regulars had escaped the United States forces. Although other British leaders criticized him either for leaving York or for not retreating to Fort George,[146] the American strategists were annoyed that he had not been driven toward Newark. The American Secretary of War, John Armstrong, wrote: "Taking then this fact for granted [the shortage of British regulars in Upper Canada], we cannot doubt but that in all cases in which a British commander is constrained to act defensively, his policy will be that adopted by Sheafe [sic]—to prefer the preservation of his troops to that of his post, and thus carrying off the kernel leave us only the shell."[147]

The Secretary also stated that, if the Americans had landed between Fort York and the town, they would have driven Sheaffe to Fort George. He regretted that Sheaffe and his group had escaped to fight another day.[148] Sheaffe's tactics displeased the British and Canadians, but they

141. *Select British Documents . . .*, Wood, II, 94-95. Enclosure in letter from Mr. Justice Powell, dated 4 June 1813. Copy of the Proceedings of the Magistrates, &c., at York during the possession of that place by the Enemy.
142. Cited and explained in footnote 140.
143. See footnote 4.
144. See footnote 25.
145. See footnote 34.
146. PAO, *Robinson Papers*, "Journal of Staff Officer, comprising a précis of the Military Operations in Upper Canada during the campaign of 1813", 11.
147. John Armstrong, *Notices of the War of 1812* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1840), Vol. I, 227.
148. *Ibid.*, 227-228.

were equally unpalatable to the Americans. On the basis of whose displeasure should the success of the York venture be judged?

However, other consequences stemmed from the capture of York. Following his retreat from the capital of Upper Canada to Kingston, Sheaffe never again returned to York. Heavy criticism was directed against him for his course of action at the battle of April 27 and on June 19, 1813, he was succeeded as commander-in-chief and civil administrator of Upper Canada by Major-General Francis de Rottenburg. Baron de Rottenburg was a more forceful character than Sheaffe, but until almost the end of his period of administration, things did not go too well for the British cause and the lack of supplies and men plagued him just as it had plagued Sheaffe. It was nearly the end of 1813, December 13, when he was replaced as commander and administrator by Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond, an able, dynamic individual, more in the tradition of Brock.

As a consequence of the battle of York, valuable naval supplies either had been burned by the British or carried off by the Americans. These stores had been intended both for ship-building purposes at York and for the British squadron on Lake Erie. When they were lost, Commander R. H. Barclay, was seriously crippled before he even took charge of the little British fleet on Lake Erie; and the critical nature of these losses grew more and more evident as Barclay's position deteriorated during the summer months.

The capture of York and the looting that ensued must have left their imprint on the minds of the citizens of the little town. While the losses of individuals do not appear to have been large, they must have been unsettling to those who sustained them. And no doubt they long remembered the day the Americans took York.

In another way the occupation of York still was reverberating through the province as late as that fateful December in 1837, when two Scots, Strachan and Mackenzie, had their battle. The Family Compact was not created by the war, but the struggle, and notably the York occupation. gave tremendous prestige to the rector of York. At the time of the invasion, he had thought the right thoughts, had been desperately pro-British, had stood up to the conqueror. The capture of York was one of the first steps, and a big one, that took Strachan on his way to the top of the political ladder. Strachan, with Sheaffe gone, had the centre of the stage, and the view was much better than from the wings. He could see and be seen.

Members who have still not remitted their fees for 1959 are urged to mail them to the Secretary-Treasurer without delay.

FORT YORK WINS A MODERN BATTLE

Readers will recall the successful campaign last year by Toronto historical societies against the proposal to build the Lakeshore (now Frederick G. Gardiner) Expressway across a corner of Fort York in downtown Toronto, the course of which was recounted in *Ontario History* Volume 50, Numbers 1 and 2, pages 38 and 100. As a result of representations from a group of Toronto citizens in March 1958 the Municipal Law Committee of the Ontario Legislature rejected a section of a proposed Bill No. 174 (An Act to Amend the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953) which would have allowed Metropolitan Toronto to encroach upon the fort. In the end transfer of garrison lands to the Metropolitan authority by the city for purposes of the expressway was authorized, but only with the condition that the highway avoided both the fort and the garrison cemetery.

Soon afterwards a campaign began in the Toronto press to move the fort to a new location and make its site available for the route of the expressway. It was asserted that the lakeshore originally had extended as far as the fort, and that historical accuracy would be served if it were placed on land to be reclaimed from the lake. Historians were urged to support the move because a relocated fort would be more accessible to tourists and visitors than upon the original site. At a meeting of Metropolitan Council on June 18 Metropolitan Chairman F. G. Gardiner suggested moving the fort, a proposal which was placed formally before the Executive Committee of Metropolitan Council on September 16. Still later the provincial government added its support to the move by offering to share with Metropolitan Toronto half the cost of relocating the fort for purposes of the expressway. Persons interested in preserving the fort and cemetery were attacked in the press for wilfully standing in the way of civic progress and adding one million dollars to the cost of the expressway, and for preventing the establishment of a historic site capable of becoming a tourist attraction of the first magnitude.

In the New Year the thinking of officials and press opinion on the subject of moving Fort York underwent a sudden and dramatic change. It began to be asserted that the monetary cost of moving the fort in all probability would exceed the added cost to the expressway of adopting a route that avoided fort and cemetery altogether. There was also the time element to consider. The site for the new fort still remained to be decided and the physical task of dismantling and erecting the fort might be long and difficult. If it were built upon reclaimed land, as proposed, many months would elapse before the expressway could utilize the Fort York property. Opposition continued to be voiced by individuals and through the Associated Historical Societies Committee of Toronto, formed to combat the proposed move of Fort York. Federal government approval also remained to be secured and in September 1958 Minister of National

Defence Pearkes stated in the House of Commons that the fort was not to be moved or altered without the approval of the federal government. The possibility of litigation and its attendant delays was another potent consideration. When the city had acquired the fort and its adjoining lands from the federal government in 1909 it had been with the proviso that the fort be maintained in perpetuity and the lands utilized exclusively for the purpose of parks and exhibitions.

The proposal also was challenged from the engineering point of view. The route had first been proposed under the assumption that it was inexpedient or impossible to avoid the fort and cemetery because of the presence of Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railway tracks on either side of the fort and the Canadian National Exhibition grounds and Ontario Hydro buildings to the west of the garrison property. As early as August 7, 1958, however, the Roads and Traffic Committee of Metropolitan Toronto reported an alternative route "in order to avoid any encroachment on the Military Cemetery and Fort York" that had been accepted by the Toronto Harbour Commissioners, the Canadian National Exhibition Association, the Toronto Board of Trade and the railway companies (Report Number 14). This ran somewhat south of the original route and in the vicinity of the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks, missing both the fort and cemetery but necessitating demolition of a 40 year-old hydro building west of Strachan Avenue. The report was received and "adopted without amendment by Toronto Metropolitan Council on September 9, 1958". (See Minutes of Council, Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Tuesday, September 9, 1958, pages 1287 and 1349-51). In his column in the Toronto *Star* of January 6, 1959, Pierre Berton asserted that behind the desire to move the fort lay an unwillingness to disturb other interests in its vicinity, a view reiterated in an editorial of January 17 entitled "Fort York Case Needs Closer Look" in the same paper. Claiming "a woman's privilege" to change its mind the *Star* pointed out that the revised route had no sharper curves than the original one and that no saving on the cost on the road was likely if the expense of moving Fort York were included.

By January 20 Mr. Gardiner had come to favour building the expressway by the alternative route. At a meeting of the Executive Council of Metropolitan Toronto he gave his view that the road could be built without interfering with the fort and that otherwise it might be delayed indefinitely by litigation. The Metro Executive, nevertheless, voted 4-3 to pay half the costs of moving the fort provided all legislative and other hurdles were cleared by March 31, 1959. However the meeting of the full Metropolitan Council on January 30 by a 16-6 vote sustained Mr. Gardiner who claimed moving the fort "was not half as important to Metro today as it had been a year ago, since land can now be obtained from the CPR" (*Globe and Mail,* January 31, 1959, page 1). Consequent upon Metro's abandonment of the project of moving the fort Toronto

City Board of Control also lost interest in the proposal. On January 21 it had instructed Parks Commissioner George Bell to make a full report on moving methods and uses for the land, but by February 4 when the report came before the Board of Control it was received quietly and without discussion. One reporter concluded: "The second battle of Fort York was finished" (*Globe and Mail,* February 5, 1959, page 5).

If this should prove the case, then a convincing demonstration will have been provided of how, in a democratic society like ours, even the few may win the day when they have the courage of their convictions and a strong suit to plead. The success is a most fitting reward for the Toronto Civic Historical Committee which has laboured many months with courage and dignity to preserve Fort York, and it represents a triumph for the many individuals, particularly the Associated Historical Societies Committee, whose unflagging efforts and arguments finally won the support of press and officialdom.

Has the threat to Fort York really been ended? It would appear that the expressway has finally been located so as to avoid the fort, though an interchange between the Gardiner Expressway and Highway 400 may be built in the remote future across the property between the fort and the cemetery. If the incentive of building the road upon the site could not secure the fort's removal it would seem highly unlikely that one million dollars or more would be forthcoming to move the fort elsewhere simply for the purpose of attracting tourists. Rather Fort York may be expected to remain upon its present site where it will continue to evoke a time when Upper Canada was a new land and York a village. And given proper care of the present grounds and buildings, and the means with which to improve approaches, signs, displays and pageantry, the fort will draw growing numbers of visitors who are moved by a genuine interest in our country's dramatic and glorious past.

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THE PROVINCIAL FREEMAN: A NEW SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN CANADA

By Alex. L. Murray

Historians have long known that, previous to the American Civil War, the fugitive slaves who escaped to Canada were served by two newspapers: *The Voice of the Fugitive* and *The Provincial Freeman.* Unfortunately, only one of these journals has been available to students of the Canadian negro and the anti-slavery movement. *The Voice of the Fugitive,* for the years 1851-1852, has been preserved in a fairly complete run; *The Provincial Freeman* has hitherto remained hidden from historians.

The fact that *The Voice of the Fugitive* has been an invaluable source of information has only made the disappearance of *The Provincial Freeman* so much more frustrating. The few scattered quotations that scholars have gathered have always suggested that the *Freeman* was as important for the years 1854 to 1858 as *The Voice of the Fugitive* was for its period. One student of the Canadian Negro, John Farrel, writes of *The Provincial Freeman,* "Tragically for Canadian history, nothing survives of this newspaper."[1] Where he can, Farrel relishes "a rare quotation from that lamentably extinct, Chatham newspaper the *Provincial Freeman.*"[2]

Students of Canadian Negro history need lament no more, for an almost complete set of *The Provincial Freeman* has been found in a rather unlikely place, Philadelphia. While engaged in a study of the anti-slavery movement as an Anglo-American phenomenon, the author collected certain clues suggesting that copies of *The Provincial Freeman* might be in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. A few hours searching in the newspaper collection of the Library 'Tower' revealed a dust-covered, bound volume of the *Freeman* for the period March 24, 1853—September 15, 1857.[3]

How the only existing copies of a Canadian negro newspaper found their way to Philadelphia is not completely certain but the following explanation is probably correct. An important figure in the Philadelphia section of the Underground Railroad was William Still, a Negro of many varied abilities. As a friend of one of the editors, an occasional contributor to the *Freeman,* and its agent in Philadelphia, it is probable that he regularly received copies through the mail. Certainly, his name is written at the top of the first page of many of the issues in the University of Pennsylvania collection. Still was very historically minded, for he kept

1. Farrel, John K. A., "The History of the Negro Community in Chatham, Ontario, 1787-1865", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ottawa University, 1955), 93.
2. *Ibid.,* 155.
3. Since the author's discovery of the volume in the spring of 1958 the University of Pennsylvania has transferred it to their Rare Book Room. The collection has also been microfilmed and can now be viewed at the Ontario Archives, which has recently acquired a microfilm copy.

records of his activities on the Underground Railroad and of the stories told him by the fugitives whom he aided in their flight to Canada. It is probable that he kept copies of *The Provincial Freeman* as part of these Underground Railroad records. Subsequently, in 1914, the newspaper was presented to the University by one of Still's descendants, an F. E. Still.[4] There it has lain, unnoticed and gathering dust, until this time.

The Provincial Freeman, unlike some Negro newspapers, was not founded hastily and without preparation. The Committee of Publication printed one issue in March, 1853 as a sample of their intentions; it was not until one year later that they felt that they had enough evidence of public support to begin printing weekly issues. For a little over a year these were printed at No. 5 City Buildings, King Street East, Toronto. Then in July, 1855 the move was made to Chatham, from where the paper was issued for the rest of its existence. During the first part of the year at Toronto the paper was printed on the presses of John Dick, but in January, 1855 the managers appear to have bought out the printing business of a Mr. E. Stephens. After this they were prepared not only to print their own paper but to contract for job printing of all kinds.[5] In Chatham this printing business was continued; in fact, *The Provincial Freeman* became the official printer of the Chatham Town Council.[6]

Exactly who was responsible for founding *The Provincial Freeman* is not entirely clear. Although Samuel Ringold Ward was officially the Editor during the first year, it is probable that he was no more than a frequent contributor who was given the title because he was well-known in Negro and abolitionist circles. The real force behind the newspaper seems to have been a young woman of remarkable talent, Mary A. Shadd. Although she never bore any title other than that of "Publishing Agent", she was regarded as the Editor by most people. By early 1855, nearly all correspondence was addressed "To the Editress of the *Provincial Freeman.*" William Still certainly considered her to be the founder of the paper. Reporting on a testimonial meeting on her behalf, he described her as a unique figure: "As she stands connected with the press, she is justly entitled, doubtless, to the credit of being the first colored woman on the American continent, to Establish and Edit a weekly newspaper." Still claimed that after she had realised the great need of a paper amongst the coloured people, "she took upon herself the arduous responsibility of Editress, Publishing Agent, Financier, &cc."[7]

Mary Shadd promised her backers that she would make *The Provincial Freeman* last at least a year.[8] After this year was over, as she phrased

4. This information is drawn from marginal notes on the first page of the volume. Still's *Records of the Underground Railroad* was published in 1886.
5. *The Provincial Freeman,* Jan. 27, 1855. (Hereafter all footnotes, unless otherwise noted, will be references to issues of *The Provincial Freeman*).
6. March 7, 1857.
7. December 1, 1855.
8. June 30, 1855.

it, she turned over "to other hands the literary department . . . and the business department" of the paper and contented herself "with active efforts to get subscribers for it."[9] The Rev. William P. Newman, a Baptist minister from Dawn, became the new Editor.

Newman's name stayed on the masthead until January, 1856. For a few months after that, there is no evidence as to who was the Editor until in May, 1856, the responsibility was divided amongst three—H. Ford Douglass, Isaac D. Shadd, and Mary A. Shadd.[10] They were still sharing the editorial duties on the date of the last issue in the University of Pennsylvania collection.

The reasons for establishing *The Provincial Freeman* are clearly outlined in the second issue. It is claimed that there are thousands of coloured people, many of them wealthy and well-educated, who need a journal to inform them on questions affecting them as a group. The coloured people of the United States need to know about their brothers in Canada and about conditions there, so that they can decide, on a basis of fact, whether or not to leave "Yankeedom with disfranchisement and oppression" and settle "in a land of impartial laws and a Constitution having no distinctions of color." For the same reason a paper is needed which would refute the lies of those who are saying that the blacks in Canada are starving.

A paper is also needed "to make our voice heard at home"; *home* being Canada. The editors of the *Freeman* argue that the forty thousand coloured people of Canada could be an important and influential element in the "body politic", if they were kept informed on political questions which affected them as a class; in other words, "we must have a mouthpiece." This is an obvious slap at *The Voice of the Fugitive,* for the *Freeman* alleges there has never been a paper which represented properly the intelligence of the coloured people of Canada.

The final reason given for the establishment of *The Provincial Freeman* is to make known to the world the progress of the Negro in Canada, which knowledge would refute the old arguments about his unfitness for freedom. "In no country in the world", the editors claim, "does the condition of our people bear relations so important to the cause of the enslaved, as here." Who could not see that a respectable paper would aid greatly in this work?[11]

The motto of *The Provincial Freeman* was "Self-Reliance is the True Road to Independence." This typifies, in a phrase, the journal's views on its most frequently discussed subject: the merits and demerits of planned segregated settlements of Negroes as opposed to their integration into the more challenging life of existing communities.[12]

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9. *Ibid.*
10. May 10, 1856.
11. March 25, 1854.
12. The editors did, however, approve of the Elgin Settlement, managed by the Rev. William King, perhaps because he ruled with a light hand and refrained from frequent fund-raising expeditions. April 12, 1856.

Although the *Freeman* reported with obvious relish on the sordid squabbles amongst Josiah Henson, John Scoble, John Brown and the Trustees at the Dawn Settlement, the favourite target of attack was the Refugee Home Society. This organisation—led by the Rev. C. C. Foote, a white preacher from Detroit—was created to obtain lands at low cost for the fugitives in Canada and to promote their welfare through churches and schools. Apart from a general dislike of segregated communities, *The Provincial Freeman*'s basic objection to the Refugee Home Society is that in the neighbourhood of the settlement "the Government has lands quite as good (if not better than) that owned by the Refugee Home Society, for sale at a lower price than the Refugee Home Society will sell, and the purchaser can obtain them with equal (if not greater) facility, and hold them by a much better tenure . . . fugitives who choose to be farmers, can find abundant facilities for acquisition of land in Canada, without the aid of the Society in question." It also objects to the Society's "begging for funds" in the United States under the pretence that the fugitives need sustained aid for many months. The editors argue that immediately upon their arrival the fugitives are destitute and therefore are "most grateful . . . for any aid . . . from the United States or elsewhere, to supply their immediate wants." But that is enough; plenty of jobs are available at high wages, for those willing to work.[13] Attacks in this vein—but much more vicious and personal—were made against the Refugee Home Society throughout the life of the paper.

Much more could be written about *The Provincial Freeman*'s definite opinions on all subjects affecting American and Canadian Negroes: the liquor traffic, education, politics—American and Canadian—international affairs, family life, local improvements and, of course, the anti-slavery movement. But this article merely attempts to describe what historians of widely different interests can find in *The Provincial Freeman*.[14]

As primary source material, the *Freeman* is all that scholars have suspected. Because the editors devoted so much space to attacking the idea of separate negro settlements, it offers an abundance of information about such settlements and about the societies that supported them. From its columns, one gets a picture of the Refugee Home Society and its sponsor, the American Missionary Association, that is quite different from what historians have hitherto drawn. Example after example is cited to prove their argument:

> We have been on the Home and know that the whole affair is a palpable "humbug". There are hundreds of acres of lands purchased by funds, begged to give homes to people that are landless, clothes, money, etc., are also begged for them, and money for schools and churches, and yet their lands are not only sold them, but this same C. C. Foot [sic] has also demanded an advance upon the *same purchase* because of a rise in the value of the land thereabouts. Of the tons . . . of clothes contributed the worst specimens mostly, and but little has reached them.

The *Freeman* reveals that Foote was paid twenty-five percent of all that

13. March 24, 1853.

14. The author is preparing an article which describes in detail the significance of *The Provincial Freeman* in Canadian social and political history.

he reported collecting for the American Missionary Association which supported the Refugee Home Society as well as other missionaries to the fugitives. Not only was the Association doing "great harm and wrong", but its leaders, "sustained by well-known abolitionists", refused to learn: "The entire officiary and members of the society are in the United States, and so heartless are many of them, that fugitives who have felt called to protest personally against their injustice, have been defied and derided by its official members (we have names and facts) . . . we defy genuine philanthropists to prove to the contrary after having investigated the matter thoroughly."[15] In almost every issue the editors offer similar details about the American missionaries to the fugitives.

The most important of these missionaries whom the *Freeman* brings out into the light is Hiram Wilson. Wilson was one of the "Lane Rebels" who came to Canada in the late thirties or early forties to minister to the fugitive slaves. He was at first connected with Josiah Henson at Dawn and later was the American Missionary Association agent amongst the Canadian Negroes. Finally, he ran an independent mission at St. Catharines. This is almost all that is known about him; he was one of those shadowy figures who seems to have left little tangible evidence of his work from which historians might estimate his significance. The evidence we have, mostly from the files of the American Missionary Association, suggests a man of great selflessness and unimpeachable honesty, who devoted himself to the service of the fugitives for over twenty years. The *Freeman,* however, draws quite a different picture. It purports to present "many facts . . . in proof of the utter needlessness of having *anyone* quartered upon us as Missionary—even if they were active in discharging their duties as such, which Mr. Wilson has never been."[16] But Wilson was not only negligent; the Editors cite case after case to prove that he is dishonest: that the funds he collects are used to build "a fine dwelling", to acquire "real estate of much value", and to have "a family living luxuriously."[17] In order to prevent detection, Wilson either buys off the older coloured residents with the best of the contributed clothing and occasional free "feeds", or intimidates those who might unmask him to visiting American philanthropists.[18] Since Hiram Wilson was part of the "begging system" which the Editors so detested, their charges are inevitably biased; they do, however, enable the historian to re-assess the importance of Wilson and other missionaries to the fugitive slaves in Canada.

The Provincial Freeman has much to reveal about another important figure in Canadian history—Josiah Henson, "The Real Uncle Tom"—and about his British American Institute at Dawn. Correspondents from Dawn warn, "Look out for old Josiah Henson . . . justly did Dr. Burns of Toronto, write of him that he was the greatest impostor of the age."[19]

15. February 21, 1857.
16. March 22, 1856.
17. May 17, 1856.
18. April 5, 1856.
19. January 10, 1857.

Under the heading "EXPOSED AT LAST", Mary Shadd writes that although it is well known in Canada that "there is not a Manual Labor School existing at Dawn . . . and has not been for several years", Henson has been collecting money throughout the New England states for such a school. She goes on to give details as to places and amounts collected.[20] In other issues the decline of the Dawn Institute is traced from when Henson and John Scoble replaced the Free Mission Baptist Board of New York as its managers: "What condition is the Institution in now? It is almost the appearance of a buzzard's roost. Who gets its benefits? John Scoble, old Henson, his three sons, their wives and a host of rats. Why are you cutting its fine timber and sending it to market? Who are you to answer to for its income? Answer these questions or you will stand condemned before the public."[21] The fact that in 1857 there was an attempt by some of the residents at Dawn to "recover" the Institute and its property from Henson and Scoble suggests that there was some truth in the *Freeman*'s charges.[22]

The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, though never of any great significance in the movement, has generally commanded the respect of historians. Here too, however, the *Freeman* has some very harsh things to say which make probable a re-assessment of the anti-slavery movement in Canada. For example, the editors attack Jermain W. Loguen's assertion that all fugitives who need help can get it from the Toronto Society: "While we believe that there are a *few* in that society, actuated by a true spirit, the controlling faction and majority are not so Providence wide in their philanthropy as to reach here and there in haste to aid any considerable number . . . Mr. Loguen is quite astray in supposing that the 'anti-slavery' people of Canada furnish a large sum to aid 'negroes' . . . ." Even when help is extended to the fugitives, it is accompanied by "this disgusting, repulsive surveillance, this despotic, dictatorial, snobbish air of superiority of white people over the fugitives" which is stronger amongst anti-slavery people than the Canadian population in general.[23] The *Freeman* frequently cites examples of the same Canadians paying lip-service to anti-slavery but refusing to attend meetings, spend money, or aid the fugitives in their struggle against discrimination.[24]

The position of Canadian churches on the slavery question is frequently discussed in *The Provincial Freeman*. In its columns are found examples of Canadian religious bodies discussing whether or not to repudiate all fellowship with their American counterparts who do not condemn slavery: a Sunday School Convention in Kingston,[25] an Amherstburg Baptist Church,[26] the Synod of the Presbyterian Church,[27] or the

20. May 2, 1857.
21. January 10, 1857.
22. February 7 & 28, 1857.
23. May 24, 1856.
24. May 24, June 21, July 26, 1856 and June 20, 1857.
25. February 14, 1857.
26. January 25, 1857.
27. December 27, 1856.

Montreal Young Men's Christian Association.[28] Particularly useful are the articles of J. E. Linton of Stratford, C.W. His writings did appear occasionally in other papers but no other single source presents so completely the full force of his indictment of "Christians" who refuse to *"repudiate all fellowship* with the pro-slavery societies and churches of the United States."[29] From his articles one can get a detailed picture of the changing attitudes of Canadian churches on this question.

The Provincial Freeman, quite inevitably, is an important source of information on the political activities of Canadian Negroes: in fact, probably the only important source for its period. Hitherto almost nothing has been known about the electoral allegiances of these American "immigrants." There is no doubt that the fugitives were interested in politics, for William H. Day and other educated Negroes often spoke on behalf of candidates, and the editors themselves tried to keep their readers informed on the complexities of Canadian party names. Their attempt to define Canadian parties in American terms produced interesting results: the "Old Tories" were similar to the "Democrats", the "Liberals" to the "Liberty Party", and the "Conservatives" to the "Hunker Whigs". With such a frame of reference, the paper, at this time—March, 1856—urged its readers to support the "Liberals".[30] Later, however, the *Freeman* identified itself increasingly with the Conservatives. It defended Sir Allan MacNab against a charge of "colorphobia" and in doing so warned that his accusers were trying to introduce certain "Americanisms" which coloured men knew to have been so fatal to them in the United States.[31] Within the year, the editors clearly swung their support to the Conservatives:

> Let us be strictly Conservative until the great battle between Liberty and Slavery is decided upon this Continent. This reform party is nothing more or less than the old Locofoco of the United States galvanized . . . We have seen enough of democracy and slavery in the United States, without wishing to see it introduced here. *Clear Grit,* Reform and Radical, are words that belong to the vocabulary of Yankeedom. . . . Let us, under the banner of that Conservativism that has ordered the only asylum for the colored man on this continent, renew our vows of hostility to slavery and devotion to its principles.[32]

Whether this affirmation represented majority opinion amongst the coloured Canadians is not certain; there is no evidence to the contrary in *The Provincial Freeman.*

These, then, are some of the matters discussed in *The Provincial Freeman.* Varying amounts of information appear on many other subjects—Negro organisations in Canada and their relationships with others in the United States, the social mores of various classes of fugitives, biographical material on Canadian Negroes—William H. Day, H. Ford Douglas, Isaac D. Shadd, Mary A. Shadd, Dr. Martin Delany, Samuel R. Ward—valuable descriptions of the towns of Canada West. *The Provincial Freeman* is a valuable addition to the source material of Canadian history.

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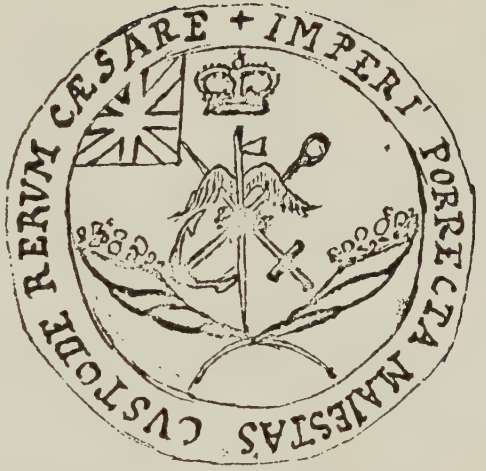
28. May 16, 1857.
29. April 19, 1856.
30. March 29, 1856.
31. June 14, 1856.
32. April 11, 1857.



Viz: An Anchor & wood on: sable in pile upon a Column erect Ar: ensigned proper encircled with a crown of Olive proper 2 Cornucopiæ Or Sable in pile charged with fruits & corn proper The whole surmounted by an Imperial crown & the Union of G.B. in the Sinister canton Motto Imperi porrecta majestas custode rerum Cæsare.

Arms of Upper Canada with description apparently in John Graves Simcoe's Handwriting
—Courtesy of Ontario Archives

THE GREAT SEALS AND THE ARMS OF ONTARIO

By George W. Spragge

The arms and motto of the Province of Ontario appear to be of some interest, and it may therefore be of value to give an account of the various seals and arms authorized over the years.

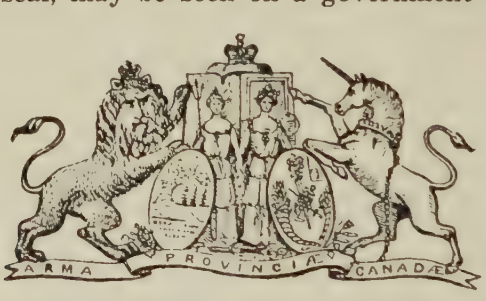
At the beginning of its existence as a separate province a seal for Upper Canada was authorized by Royal Warrant dated 28 March 1792.[1] In the Simcoe Papers in the Ontario Archives[2] may be seen a sketch and description of the design of one side of this seal, apparently in Simcoe's hand. Sketches may also be found in Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto.*[3] Simcoe's description is as follows: Az[ure]: an anchor & sword or: saltire wise upon a calumet erect Ar[gent]: winged proper encircled with a crown of olive proper 2 Cornucopia or saltire wise charged with fruits & corn proper. The whole surmounted by an Imperial crown & the Union of G.B. [i.e., the Union Jack] in the sinister canton Motto Imperi porrecta majestas custode rerum Caesare.[4] The calumet, or pipe of peace, was without doubt a tribute to the Indian allies of the Crown in the Province. It is well known that the seals affixed to provincial public documents in these early days were discs of wax on one side of which was impressed the design described above; on the other side were the Royal Arms surrounded by the Royal Titles. This design may well be regarded as the provincial coat of arms: Simcoe in 1792 requested that two hundred medals "with the arms of Upper Canada" be sent to him to be given as presents to Indian chiefs;[5] it appears more than probable that the design he sketched was in his opinion that of the arms of Upper Canada.

The Union Jack in these "arms" was, of course, the Union Jack of 1707: it contained no St. Patrick's cross. On 10 January 1801 a warrant was issued authorizing the continued use of the original seal "until another can be engraved and transmitted, with the new Ensigns Armorial on the Union with Ireland."[6] There appears, however, to be no record of this new seal having been issued, and the Union Jack on a seal of 1807 in the Ontario Archives differs in no way from that on the original 1792 seal. In fact the design on this side of the seal appears to have remained unchanged for many years.[7] As we shall see, it was incorporated

1. This is the date given in Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto,* vol. II, p. 744. I am informed by the Dominion Archivist that this date is correct; the date given in the Canadian Archives *Report for 1891,* State Papers, Upper Canada, p. 9, 8 March, is an error.
2. Ontario Archives, Simcoe Papers (Canadian), Envelope 53.
3. Vol. II, 744; and vol. V, 137.
4. This has been translated: "The greatness of the Empire advanced through the supreme guardianship of a Caeser."
5. *Simcoe Papers* (Ontario Historical Society), I, 307.
6. Public Archives of Canada, Series G. 53-2, p. 452, Portland to Hunter. Microfilms of the documents in this Series relating to Upper Canada are in the Ontario Archives.
7. See Barlow Cumberland, *History of the Union Jack* (Toronto, 1909), 197-8.

in the arms of the Province of Canada. New seals were of course issued on the death of George III and his immediate successors, but the changes made seem to have been confined to the royal titles on the other side of the seal and, on the death of William IV, to the royal arms as well, "the German Dominions of His late most Sacred Majesty having devolved" upon Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover.

In 1840 Lord John Russell wrote to Poulett Thomson[8] that a new seal was required for the Province of Canada. It is probable that at this time the type of seal was changed: it was no longer a wax disc attached to the document by ribbons, but was impressed on the document itself. In this type of seal there would not be a different reverse. As may be seen from the illustration,[9] the "arms" of Upper Canada, as do the "arms" of Lower Canada, form a distinctive part of this fine example of the engravers' art. Whether or not the design of this seal may be regarded as representing the arms of the Province of Canada, a crude design over the title "Arma Provinciae Canadae," and which is obviously based on the design of the seal, may be seen on a government circular of 1861.[10]



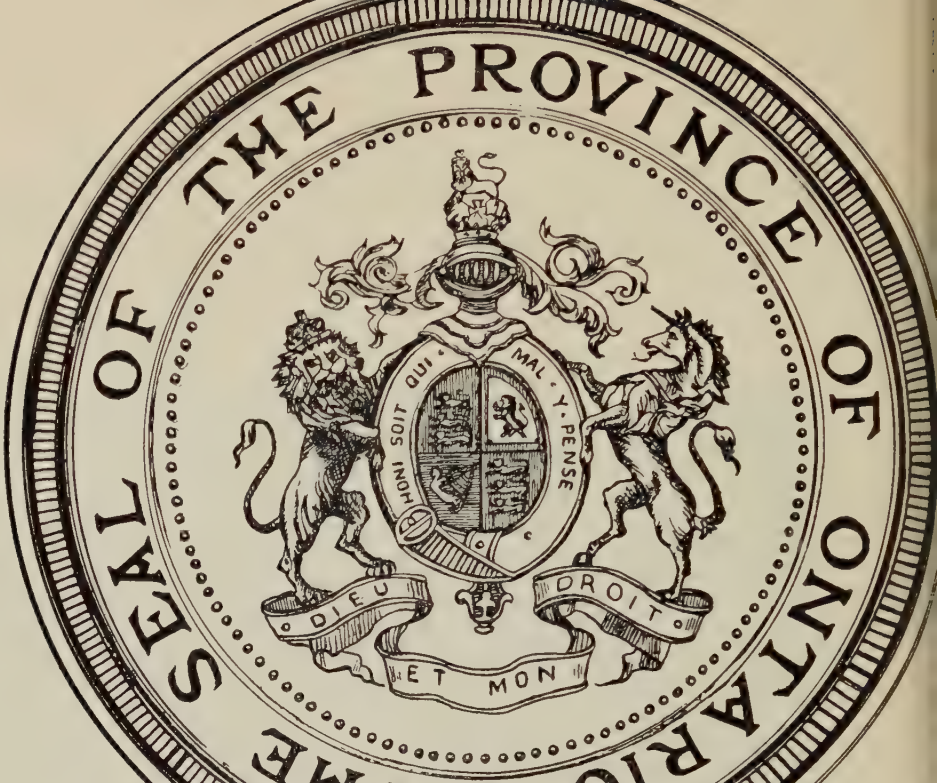
These "arms" show two maidens—rather homely maidens, it must be confessed—standing side by side and hand in hand in front of what appears to be a shield, on the top of which rests a crown. One maiden, no doubt representing Lower Canada, carries a trident; the other, representing Upper Canada, what appears to be an agricultural implement. To the right and left of the maidens and partially obscuring their dresses are two shields, on one of which are the arms of Lower Canada and on the other the arms of the Upper Province. At the maidens' feet we see a beaver, and to the right and left of the shields appear a rose and a thistle. No fleur-de-lis nor shamrock is to be seen. As supporters on the right and left are the lion and the unicorn.

Confederation called for arms and seals for the Dominion and for the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec. By the British North America Act, section 136, the Great Seals of the new Provinces of Ontario and Quebec were to be "the same, or of the same design," as those used by the provinces before the union of 1841 "until altered by the Lieutenant-

8. G. 49, p. 230, 11 September 1840.
9. For the photograph of this seal I am indebted to Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.
10. Ontario Archives, Miscellaneous manuscripts, 1861.

Seal of the Province of Canada, photographed on a document in the Public Archives, Ottawa

—Courtesy Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist



Seal of the Province of Ontario,
1867-1869
Courtesy Ontario Department of Tra
and Publicity

Seal of the Province of Ontario, 1
to the Present
—Courtesy Ontario Department of Pu

Governor in Council." This section of the Act was, however, overlooked by the British Government until it was brought to its attention two years later by a memorandum written by Sir John Macdonald.[11] On the 1st of June 1867, therefore, the British Government sent out three seals, one for the new Dominion and one for each of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, to be used "for the sealing of all things whatever which should pass the Great Seal of the Dominion or of either of the said Provinces." It was stated that it was the intention of the British Government at a later date to substitute for these seals others of "a different and more elaborate design."[12] The seal sent for the Province of Ontario in June 1867 and adopted by the Ontario Government on the 7th of August of that year shows the Royal Arms surrounded by the words "The Seal of the Province of Ontario." Two years later, on the 29th of December 1869, an Ontario Order in Council authorized for use on and after the 1st of January 1870 the new Great Seal "appointed by Her Majesty for this Province in lieu of the one in use since the first of July 1867." This seal has the Royal Coat of Arms in the centre; this is surmounted by a Crown; and below is the now familiar shield of Ontario: the St. George's Cross above the three maple leaves. The same seal is in use today.

By Royal Warrant dated 26 May 1868 armorial bearings were granted the Dominion and the Provinces "for their greater honor and distinction", the design of the shield for Ontario being as it is at present: "Vert, a Sprig of three Leaves of Maple slipped, or on a chief Argent the Cross of St. George."[13]

The placing of the maple leaves on the provincial shield is not difficult to justify. Only a very few years before, on the occasion of the visit to Toronto of the Prince of Wales in 1860, "Native Canadians with maple leaves on their breasts, and branches in their hands, occupied the space assigned to them", and from that time "the Maple Leaf became installed

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11. On the 25th of January 1869 Sir John Macdonald wrote that it was expressly provided by the 136th clause of the British North America Act that after Confederation Ontario and Quebec were to use the seals of Upper and Lower Canada. In August of that year Lord Granville wrote that "the provisions of the 136th Section appear to have escaped observation until quite recently." In his memorandum Macdonald improved the shining hour by reading a little lecture on constitutional government. "No doubt," he wrote, "Her Majesty has sole power to order and change at will the Great Seal of the Dominion. A question however, arises, whether under the British North America Act, 1867, and under the altered position of the Provinces, caused by that Act, the power to fix the Great Seals for those Provinces does not rest elsewhere. Instead of being separate Colonies, they are now portions of the Dominion. Their Lieutenant-Governors are no longer appointed by Her Majesty but by the Governor-General in Council, and in the absence of any express provision in the Act, it might be argued that their Great Seals should be appointed and altered by the Governor-General, in the same manner as Her Majesty orders the Great Seal for the Dominion." (Ontario Archives. Provincial Secretary's Papers. Copy of Macdonald's memorandum of 25 January 1869).

12. The Duke of Buckingham to the Governor-General, 1 June 1867. A copy of this despatch is in the Ontario Archives, Provincial Secretary's Papers.

13. *Canada Gazette,* 20 November 1869. We have reproduced the words and punctuation as printed in the *Gazette*; properly they should be: Vert, a sprig of three leaves of maple slipped or, on a chief argent, the Cross of St. George. (See Ontario Historical Society, *Papers & Records,* XIV, 138).

as the National Emblem of Canada."[14] The choice of the St. George's Cross, however, might be regarded as an injustice to Ireland: the number of persons of Irish origin in the Province was considerably greater than those of English origin.[15]

A shield containing the arms of Ontario was all very well, but a shield alone was hardly fitting for the dignity of the great Province of Ontario. In addition to their arms, many British cities had crests, supporters and mottoes. To the Prime Minister in 1907, the Honourable James P. Whitney, it seemed that Ontario too ought to have these adjuncts to her arms. Correspondence was therefore carried out on this subject for two or three years and Sir James, as he became in 1908, paid visits while in London to the College of Heralds by whom the present crest, supporters, and

motto were approved. A quotation from the Royal Warrant issued on behalf of King Edward VII, 27 February 1909, is as follows:

> KNOW YE, therefore, that We of Our Princely Grace and Special Favour have granted and assigned and by these Presents grant and assign the following Crest, that is to say: "Upon a Wreath of the Colours A Bear passant Sable, and the Supporters on the dexter side A Moose, and on the sinister side A Canadian Deer, both Proper," together with this Motto: "Ut incepit fidelis sic permanet" . . . to be borne for the said Province of Ontario on Seals, Shields, Banners, Flags, or otherwise, according to the Law of Arms.

14. Ontario Historical Society, *Papers & Records,* V, 29.
15. *Census of Canada,* 1870-71 (Ottawa, 1873), I, 280-1.

On the 10th of May 1910 Sir James Whitney wrote to Miss I. K. Farlinger, of Morrisburg, Ontario, telling her that he was sending her a framed copy of the new Provincial Arms. From this we learn three interesting facts: (1) Mr. E. M. Chadwick, barrister, of Toronto, the compiler of *Ontarian Families,* was the designer of the crest and supporters, (2) he also suggested the motto, (3) the motto alludes to the founding of the Province by the United Empire Loyalists. Extracts from the letter[16] follow:

> Shortly after Confederation a Royal Warrant was issued allotting a Shield to each of the Provinces. Over a year ago Mr. E. M. Chadwick, Barrister of this City, well known for his heraldic knowledge, at my request designed the crest and supporters to go with the Shield. He also suggested the motto, "Ut incepit fidelis sic permanet". A free translation of this, as you know, would be, "As loyal she began so loyal she remains", or "Loyal in the beginning, loyal still". When in London nearly two years ago I paid several visits to the Heralds' College in order to get the crest and supporters adopted, which I did, and a Royal Warrant was issued shortly afterwards. . . .
>
> P.S.—I should have given you the technical description which is as follows.
>
> "Arms (shield) as granted in 1867, with the addition of accessories, namely, supporters—dexter, a Moose deer; Sinister, a Canadian deer.—Crest, a bear passant sable, (being the principal wild animals of the land). Motto: Ut incepit fidelis sic permanet. (As loyal she began, so forever she remains—alluding to the foundation of Upper Canada by the U.E. Loyalists.)"

16. Ontario Archives, Whitney Papers, 10 May 1910.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir,

I desire to bring to the attention of your readers a number of corrections of certain statements in the article entitled "Sharon Temple and the Children of Peace" by Miss Hilary Spooner which appeared in Volume 50, Number 4 of *Ontario History.*

On page 222 it is stated "In 1833 the Children of Peace acquired the first pipe organ and installed it in the Temple where it was played at all services." Actually Richard Coates built the first pipe organ for the Children of Peace *in 1820.* It is believed to be the first pipe organ made in Upper Canada. It was used in the Meeting House, and not in the Temple where it is now located. The article refers to pedals, of which there are none; it is a barrel organ and the barrel was turned by a crank. A bellows was originally pumped manually but the organ now is operated by an electric motor. As the barrel is turned, metal pins touch keys which release air to the wooden pipes.

It is further stated (page 222) that "the famed Sharon band" continued until the 1860's. However, though the band reached its finest

achievements in the 1860's it actually continued until the 1880's. The brass band did not become the Sharon Silver Temperance Band; the band of the Children of Peace became the Sharon Silver Band about 1860. The Sharon Silver Star Band belonged to the Sharon Temperance Lodge, a separate organization. The author has apparently confused two distinct bands, both of which were active during the same period.

The Meeting House erected in 1819 is incorrectly referred to (page 223) as the first Temple. Though architecturally it may be considered as a forerunner of the Temple the building was known as the Meeting House, and later as the Music Hall. The Temple was used only for special occasions while Sunday services were held in the Meeting House.

On page 225 the David Willson study is described incorrectly as being twelve feet square with twelve columns supporting the roof. Actually the overall dimensions of the study are 24 feet by 16½ feet and there are only ten pillars. The rocking chair belonging to Mrs. Willson was only placed there in recent years, so it may be doubted that Mrs. Willson kept her husband company in the study, as the article surmises. It may be, rather, that David Willson used to go there, away from his family, to write his sermons.

On page 226 mention is made of the school started in 1818 for training young ladies in housekeeping, sewing, dress-making and spinning as being a boarding school. This appears questionable, since to the best of our knowledge none of the early accounts of this establishment use that term.

For the fullest and most accurate description of the buildings of the Children of Peace readers are referred to the M.A. thesis written in 1953 by Charles E. McFaddin which may be found in the University of Toronto Library. An historical account of Music in Sharon appears in the 1957 *York Pioneer*.

Yours very truly,
A. D. McFall,
Chairman, Sharon Temple Committee,
York Pioneer and Historical Society.

NEW SOCIETY ESTABLISHED

Mrs. R. W. Menzies writes to inform us that the Grey County Historical and Art Society has recently been organized in Owen Sound. According to the constitution, drafted with the assistance of Mr. James McCubbin, City Solicitor, and dated January 5, 1959, the objects of the Society include the promotion of fine arts and the establishment of "an Historical Museum and the Tom Thomson Memorial Art Gallery" as well as historical study, research and publication. The officers include: President, Mrs. R. W. Menzies; First Vice-President, Mrs. D. W. Inglis; Second Vice-President, Mrs. Theodore Lavery; Secretary, Mr. William McLernon; and Treasurer, Mr. G. W. Butchart.

THE DIARY OF AARON WISMER (1844 - 1931), JORDAN, ONTARIO

By Ruth M. Home

There are two stories connected with the diary of Aaron Wismer, the one of the diarist, Aaron, who died at the age of 87 in 1931, the other Morgan, his nephew, who kept the diary in a twelve quart basket and who was 85 when he died recently. Their two lives together span the hundred years in which Ontario has changed from a rural to an industrial province.

Aaron's life ended just as the industrial change had taken place but while Ontario was still a farming province; Morgan's began when the main objective of the young man was to get into business for himself and closed when the small business had become almost a thing of the past. Morgan stayed on the farm until he was twenty-five, then learnt the bicycle and carriage trade, ultimately owning and operating an excellent carriage shop in the village of Jordan. World War I put him out of business, so he began to drive the delivery truck for the Jordan Wine Company in the difficult days of prohibition.

"Money is no good without a clear conscience," said Morgan. "I could have made a lot from men who wanted to pass me some, if I would help them out. It was hard to obey laws that were enforced by drunken prohibition officers, but I drove that truck honestly and delivered to the churches and convents their sacramental wines."

Until his death he lived with his son-in-law, who works for the same wine company. The family farm is sold, the business is gone and an era has passed. Morgan realised this. As he gave me the diary, conveniently piled in the basket, he said, "I want you to read this, and use as much as you can, because now we are in a different age. All the things that my uncle writes about have passed away, but it is good for our children to have a picture of the times of their grandfathers and great grandfathers, because it will help them to be proud of their family,"—and of Canada.

Aaron began his diary in 1864, when he visited his Uncle John High in Doylestown near Philadelphia, probably to settle his mother's estate. He lists the wonders that he saw, in the order of their importance: "The blind asylum, where I saw the work of the blind and heard the sweetest singing. Next was the college, wholly and totally of marble. Next was the mint and then the State House where I saw the image of George Washington. There were 163 steps in the State House and last was the Navy Yard."

While there, his attitude was that of an expert comparing methods, how beef was butchered "different than at home", how chickens were dressed, the prices obtained at sales. He frequently "Ate oyster cakes, admired the ladies and rode home in a sleigh". Occasionally, he was

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bored: "This day nothing worthy of attention, but passed slowly and gradually from morning to night. Perhaps there might have been something of interest in some parts of the world, but not to my knowledge."

The trip home took him two days with eight changes and cost $13.35. He left Doylestown "joyfully" on the eighteenth of January at 6.30 p.m., arriving home on the morning of January 20th. During the trip of seven weeks, he visited thirty-eight families, all relatives and friends. Apparently the Loyalist Wismers still maintained close personal connections with their revolutionary and American relatives.

Apart from this one jaunt, Aaron stayed at home, doing his share of the farm work, faithfully recording the weather so important to a farmer, and referring occasionally to rather startling local happenings. Thus:

1869 Jan. 1. To-day it snowed all day. A man murdered his wife at Port Dalhousie. We did nothing all day.

Jan. 7. I got out a stick of timber 50 feet long for an eave trough. The wind blew very hard from the S.W. Wood's carpenter shop burned.

Jan. 30. This morning Tobias came. We split rails all day about 200. [The cedar fence rails at one time so common].

April 10. Nice and pleasant. Took hog and calf to market. Got five teeth pulled. Went to Jordan at night.

May 13. This morning very fine. Ploughed the corn fields. Caught two thieves. James Stull and another fellow. Took them to St. Catharines. [Later Stull is sentenced to five years, the other fellow to three].

May 17. Finished ploughing. Drove cows to bull.

May 26. Put ashes to corn, painted, plastered potatoes, left four rows without plaster to see if there be any difference.

June 11. Cool. We worked on the road, still have three more days [Statute labour required by law]. Father brought back our molasses.

June 12. Went to town, had the impression taken for my set of teeth. Wool down to 34 cents a pound.

July 12. Orangemen walked in St. Catharines. Three steam boats came across the lake.

1870 May 24. We were invaded by Fenians. Great excitement. Hope to get 250 bu. potatoes from one acre.

At first his crops were grain and root crops. There is no mention of fruit, but in 1869, he gathered peaches to sell and in 1870 took twenty barrels of apples to market. In June of 1873, he picked cherries and in July of the same year he talks of a load of cherry pickers. That same month he picked currants and in the fall he made cider. In 1874, there is

the first mention of grapes: "April 4. Very cold raw day, wind from the west. Cut some trees along fence, hauled fence blocks and dug up around the grape vines. Went to Port Dalhousie at night." Hence, the 1860's mark the transition in Louth township from the general farmer of pioneer days to the specialist farmer of fruit.

Without movies, radio and T.V., Aaron had to make his own good time and succeeded very happily. There were all the activities of the community—the ploughing matches, harvest festivals, marriages, funerals, and Sunday sermons and Sunday school. All of these continue to-day; what has disappeared is the "Bee", and there were bees for everything: barn raising, rail splitting, butchering and sawing, all jobs that are best done by a group. Singing school was every Saturday night: "Went to market and brought home our sow, went to Jordan to singing school and got measured for a suit of clothes. Nothing more to-day." Spelling classes were not quite so regular. Perhaps Aaron did not think he needed them. He was apparently considered a local master of the English language because he frequently wrote letters for his friends. The diary does not quite corroborate this opinion.

Aaron was a powerful debater, showing the characteristic broad vision and grasp of all matters, historical, social and moral. Some of the subjects will sound familiar.

Resolved that:

1. Education should be a necessary qualification for exercising the right of suffrage.
2. The execution of Lady Jane Grey had no justification.
3. Telling a lie will create more misery than stealing.
4. The female creates more misery than the male.
5. Capital is a more valuable instrument of production than labour.
6. Marriage is the happiest and most economical state.
7. Annexation of Canada to the United States would be detrimental to the interests of Canada.

Some of the points of the debate on capital punishment were briefly jotted down:

1. Crime is sin, violation of law, vice!
2. Saul was a murderer.
3. Why was the New Testament written if the Old were right?
4. Innocent persons often hanged "would make your blood run cold."
5. No chance for repentance after being hanged.
6. Biblical authorities, 14th Genesis, Cain and Abel; 20th Exodus—thou shalt not kill; 5th St. Mark—an eye for an eye.
7. Vermont House of Representatives has passed a bill abolishing the death penalty.

In 1913, the machine age arrived, for Aaron Wismer bought a car. He ordered it from Albert Wismer and it was delivered on June 13th. It was a Brookville Atlas, a black touring car with a seating capacity of

five: "Albert came with the automobile. We had a great old ride down the stone road to Johnson's corner, to Vineland and Victoria Hall and so on to Jordan and Jordan Station." According to the diary, he had three driving lessons and then was master of his car.

The outside world affected Aaron hardly at all. There is no mention of the deaths of Queen Victoria, of Edward VII, and the accession of George V. World War I. is thus announce:d "August 5, 1914. Very fine weather, mercury about 70. Cut some weeds and thistles, went to bank and post office, picked some apples. War declared between England and Germany." He ends it on the same practical note: "November 11, 1918: Very fine day, no sun, wind from west, mercury 40-50. Went to town to celebrate the end of the war."

It is fitting that Aaron's diary should close with a mention of Morgan: "Dec. 21, 1929: Mercury 30, wind from north, home all day. Morgan came down to-night with some Christmas parcels."

It was a quiet leisurely life around Jordan from the 1870's to the early 1900's. I can hear members of the younger generation groan and say, "He had no fun at all", but what basic things have we that Aaron did not have, and what have we lost that he had? There is peace of mind when one can write: "Finished mowing the young orchard, cultivated the corn. Father went to Jordan to have the horses shod. I caught some fish. Nothing more."

CARLETON UNIVERSITY OFFERS ARCHIVAL COURSE

Carleton University, Ottawa, in co-operation with the Public Archives of Canada, announces a course in archival principles and administration to be held between June 8 and July 3, 1959. The course, first of its kind in Canada, is designed to cover basic archival techniques and also to give special attention to archival problems peculiar to this country.

Contributors to the course include Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Dr. Lewis A. Thomas, former Archivist of Saskatchewan, Mr. R. N. Beattie, Records Manager for the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, the Rev. George Boyle, formerly Archivist-Historian of the United Church of Canada, and other specialists from the Public Archives of Canada, the Public Archives Record Centre and other government departments.

The programme will include formal and practical work, and will offer those in attendance the opportunity to concentrate in the fields of archives or of records management. Those interested are asked to write for further information and application forms to The Registrar, Carleton University, Ottawa 1. The tuition fee is $72.00.

MEMORIALS AT LUNDY'S LANE

By Mabel V. Warner

Although the Battle of Lundy's Lane of July 25th, 1814, is one of the most famous and important in Canadian history, the battle site with its many memorials of national historic interest remains undiscovered by the tourist and almost unknown even to local residents.

Drummond Hill Cemetery, located on the highest elevation between the lakes of Erie and Ontario and within sound of the constant roar of the Falls of Niagara, received its name from General Gordon Drummond, leader of the British forces in the Battle of Lundy's Lane. Beautiful ornamental gates at the side entrance are erected as a memorial to this military hero, the first native-born Canadian to attain high rank in the British army. But strange to say, the cemetery, established as such in 1799, predates the battle by fifteen years, and the fiercest part of the fighting took place among the gravestones of the earlier settlers. British and American trenches, remains of which can still be traced, crossed the cemetery diagonally and at such close range that they appear incredible in the light of present-day warfare.

Until 1887 little thought was given to the marking of the site of the battle, until the newly-organized historical society of Niagara Falls designated the erection of a monument to be "our greatest object" and chose as its name, "Lundy's Lane Historical Society." A resolution was immediately forwarded to the Canadian Government, whose only immediate response was the loan of two cannon, placed in the cemetery with suitable ceremonies on May 24th, 1889 and still standing there.

Five years and many petitions later, Parliament voted sufficient funds to cover most of the expenses of the great objective, and the monument was erected. The price was $5,000, but it would cost many times that today. Some difficulties were encountered in the process, not the least being the removal of the graves from the selected site to other locations in the cemetery.

The battle memorial, known as the "Soldiers' Monument", stands on the very highest part of the hill, its granite shaft rising forty feet in height, its base approximately twenty feet square, with six steps leading on all four sides up to the column. The inscription reads: "Erected by the Canadian Government in Honour of the Victory Gained by the British-Canadian Forces on this Field on the 25th Day of July, 1814, And in Grateful Remembrance of the Brave Men who died on that day fighting for the Unity of the Empire." Over 2,000 persons attended the unveiling ceremonies on July 25th 1895, the eighty-first anniversary of the battle. Three bronze plaques engraved with the names of those who lost their lives in the battle were added in 1938. The long list included many names familiar in the Niagara area — names still cherished in the records of pioneer families.

Following the erection of the Soldiers' Monument, the members of Lundy's Lane Historical Society turned attention to the last resting place of the far-famed Canadian heroine, Laura Secord and her husband, James Secord. Only humble slabs had marked the graves since the death of James in 1841 and Laura in 1868. A fund was set up to which numerous organizations, the Canadian Militia, and individuals contributed. School children from all across Canada sent in their pennies, and a picture of the monument was later included in their school books. Unveiled in 1901, it was the first public monument ever to be erected to a woman in Canada. A handsome bronze bust, the work of Miss Mildred Peel of London, Ontario, depicts Laura as a young woman. The inscription gives a detailed account of the heroine's long and arduous walk to warn the British of the approaching enemy attack. The original grave slabs were removed to Chippawa, where they remain set in a wall of Trinity Church, in which Laura and her husband worshipped during the latter years of their lives.

A unique memorial, the only American memorial in a military cemetery in Canada, is that to Captain Abraham Hull, who served as Aide-de-Camp to his father, General William Hull, when he surrendered Detroit to General Sir Isaac Brock. Not yet twenty-eight years of age, he fell in a disastrous charge against a British battery almost on the spot where he lies buried. For years, his grave was marked only by a small marble slab, with the bones of soldiers discovered at various times and identified as American, being buried nearby. In 1907, the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association of U.S.A. erected the pretentious monument which now honours the grave. Four neat markers inscribed with the dates on which the remains of the soldiers were re-interred were placed by it. This was not accomplished without objection. The Niagara writer and historian, William Kirby, F.R.S.C., termed "Last of the Loyalists", protested as long as he lived the "irreverance of a Yankee memorial on the field of Lundy's Lane."

A sad tale of bereavement is related on the box tomb of an officer, who died of wounds suffered in an engagement earlier in the war. The Battle of Lundy's Lane was waged over his grave and destroyed his first tomb. The engraving, which covers the whole of the long flat top, reads: "Sacred to the memory of Lieu. Col. the Hon. Cecil Bisshopp 1st Foot Guards, and inspecting officer in the U.C., eldest and only surviving son of Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bart., Baron de la Zouche in England. After having served with distinction in the British army in Holland, Spain and Portugal, he died on the 16th July 1813, aged 30, in consequence of wounds received in action with the enemy at Black Rock, the 13th of the same month, to the great grief of his family and friends, and is buried here. This tomb, erected at the time by his brother officers, becoming very much dilapidated is now in 1846 renewed by his affectionate sisters, the Baroness de la Zouche and the Hon. Mrs. Pechell in memorial to an excellent man and a beloved brother."

One monument marking the two graves of Lieut.-Col. John Gordon and Capt. S. B. Torrens of the Royal Scots, is a reminder of the Siege of Fort Erie which terminated the War of 1812-14 in October of 1814. Both officers fell in the assault on Fort Erie just before peace was declared. The inscription states the monument was placed there on June 20th 1851 —nearly forty years after—by Major Barry Fox, "their friend and companion."

Two who were considered martyrs to the causes of the opposing sides in the Mackenzie Rebellion of 1837-8 lie close to each other in the old cemetery. They are Robert Randall and Edgeworth Ussher. Robert Randall was a staunch friend and supporter of William Lyon Mackenzie, and although, for ten years, he represented the 4th Riding of Lincoln in the Provincial Government, he was thwarted in business undertakings by members of the Family Compact, once so as to result in his losing his interest in the Bridgewater Mills. These mills and the settlement which grew up around them became known as Bridgewater; and in American history books, the Battle of Lundy's Lane is referred to as the Battle of Bridgewater. Robert Randall's life was believed to be shortened by frustration and disappointment, and his tall slab holds this abrupt and pointed declaration: "In memory of Robert Randall Esq. M.P.P., the victim of Colonial Misrule, who died May 2nd, 1834, Aged 66 years."

Edgeworth Ussher, who lived on the Upper Niagara, almost across from Mackenzie's headquarters on Navy Island, was radically opposed to the "Little Rebel" and all who supported him, and he was actively preparing to resist an expected invasion from the Island. His inscription on a stately shaft reports the tragic story as follows: "Here rests in the hope of joyful resurrection the mortal remains of Edgeworth Ussher Esq., whose devotion to his sovereign and exertions in the cause of his country at a critical period in the history of Canada marked him out as an object of vengeance of the enemies of peace and good order, by whom he was cruelly assassinated on the night of 11th Nov., 1838, in his own house near Chippawa at the early age of 34 years, leaving a wife and four children to mourn his irreparable loss." Within recent times, the name of the road passing the old Ussher farm has been changed to "Edgeworth Road" in honour of this man, whose life was sacrificed in an effort to retain a way of life in which he ardently believed.

A limestone slab, its lettering all but obliterated, is of particular interest, for it marks the first burial in the cemetery. The inscription reads: "In memory of John Burch, Esq., who departed this life March 7th, 1797, in the 55th year of his age. The first interment in this yard." It is thought that John Burch was at first buried in a plot near his home and removed to the cemetery when it was established two years later. He is remembered as the first man to make use of Canadian Niagara power, for in 1785 he built his saw and grist mills almost on the brink of the great falls, using the heavy current to turn his mill wheels. An early road,

now a well-paved highway, still winds and twists through the picturesque Niagara fruitlands, following the trail made by sturdy pioneer farmers in bringing their grain to be ground at the Burch Mills.

The Street plot, enclosed with an ornamental iron fence, recalls the powerful mercantile firm of Clark and Street. These were the bankers of the day and controlled much of the land in the vicinity of Niagara Falls. Samuel Street rests here with his family, but the childless Clarks are buried in Trinity churchyard, Chippawa. Thomas Clark built the beautiful home overlooking the Falls, known for a century as "Clark Hill", and later owned and occupied by Sir Harry Oakes, who rebuilt and renamed it "Oak Hall".

The untimely death of a high-born relative of the Clark family is recounted on an ornate stone in the Street enclosure: "In memory of Mary Earle, granddaughter of Sir William Johnson, Bart., who died 10th of April 1820, aged 20 years 6 months." Mary Earle had arrived from Kingston to visit her cousin, Mrs. Clark, who was also a granddaughter of Sir William Johnson and his Indian wife, Molly, sister of Joseph Brant, the famous Indian chief. At the Clark home, she was taken seriously ill and had died. Since at that time bodies were never transported any great distance for burial, the young, lifeless Mary found a grave at Lundy's Lane.

A small and weather-beaten slab, with its inscription slowly becoming illegible, records a touching story as follows: 'Rebecca Green Biggar, the first white child born on the Niagara Frontier. Her mother came all the way on horse back from New Jersey. Father walking all the way. Born 8 days after, 1786." Tradition tells us that the child, Rebecca, was born under a roof of boughs built against a big fallen log, for no other shelter was at hand. After her marriage to William Biggar, she became known as the "spiritual mother" of the Old Red Meeting House, one of the first Methodist churches in Western Ontario. On quarterly Sundays as many as fifty guests, who had travelled long distances over rutted roads to attend services, would be entertained in the Biggar home. Rebecca Green and Laura Secord were close friends, and both living to an advanced old age, used often to meet and talk over the experiences of pioneer days. These included reminiscences of Laura's long tramp from Queenston to Decew Falls.

The most imposing private monument in the cemetery is that of the Lowell family, of whom William Lowell is the best remembered as a successful merchant and philanthropist of the Village of Drummondville, now a part of the city of Niagara Falls. At his own expense, in 1887, to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, he built the Drummond Hill Presbyterian Church and presented it to the congregation. The church, still in use, is the second one upon the site of the original log church of the first settlers, which was left in shambles when the Battle ended. And the manse stands where on the following day a great funeral

pyre disposed of unclaimed friend and foe alike, to prevent an epidemic. It is said that for many a long year grass never grew on that blighted ground.

The grave of the man who donated the land as a burying ground for the use of the settlers on Lundy's Lane is marked by a limestone slab standing near the church. Here is buried Christopher Buchner who died September 7th 1824, at the age of 59 years. During the Battle of Lundy's Lane he fought at the head of a company in his own fields, and later witnessed his own fences being used as fuel in the burning of the dead.

The Lundy plot is of special interest, for the road that passes the cemetery took its name from this family, and the battle is named for the road. William Lundy was a Quaker who lived in Pennsylvania prior to the American Revolution. Refusing to live under the new flag, he gave up his holdings and removed to Upper Canada in 1789. Being a Quaker, he did not participate in wars, but the wounded of Lundy's Lane were brought to his home, a half-mile distant, where they were cared for by members of his family and volunteer helpers.

The strangest plot in all the cemetery is to be found in a far corner containing many tiny markers, bearing odd inscriptions. The unidentified bodies recovered from the Niagara River were buried here in early times. For want of a better name, they were known as "Floaters", a term used on some of the markers, although the spelling on several is simplified to "Floter". One holds only a question mark, with the date of 1910 beneath it; another, "Woman Floater 1913". A number of years ago, it was decided that an old historic cemetery was scarcely the place for burial of these inglorious remains, and the "Floaters" have since been interred elsewhere.

A grave visited by all Australians who come to Niagara Falls, is that of William Strachan, Australian Boy Scout, who, when with a company of Scouts touring the district in 1929, took ill with spinal meningitis and died. The Boys' Clubs of America erected the classical granite monument and the Niagara Falls Parks Commission provide flowers which bloom on the grave throughout the summer.

An imposing memorial perpetuates the hundredth anniversary of the Battle. Standing under a tall, spreading, copper beech tree south-east of the Soldier's Monument, its base is of Danish Granite, upon which is mounted a bronze tablet, with the inscription: "This memorial is erected to commemorate the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Lundy's Lane, held here July 25th, 1914, under the auspices of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society."

The Centenary Celebration, commemorated by this monument, was attended by 15,000 persons, the largest historical meeting ever to be held in Canada. Every military section of the Canadian Forces was represented, and chiefs of the Six Nation Indians, whose forefathers fought in the battle, took part in the program. The day had been pro-

claimed a public holiday, and hundreds of school children opened the ceremonies by lustily singing, "The Maple Leaf Forever". Sir John Gibson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, accompanied by Lady Gibson, was the principal speaker, although a number of other guests from both Canada and the United States addressed the gathering. All speeches emphasized the significant fact that the two warring nations had been at peace for one hundred years. An International Decoration Committee, consisting of twelve young ladies, six Canadian and six American, attired in long white dresses with cartwheel hats, and guarded by a chaperon (for it was 1914) laid wreaths upon the various monuments, while the band played "Abide With Me". The issuance of a Centennial Medal also featured the celebration. A limited number of these were struck in silver and presented to distinguished guests and to statesmen, museums and art galleries in Canada. A larger number were struck in bronze, some being distributed to the school children participating in the programme, and the remainder sold. Only a few appear to have survived the years and they are now valued family possessions.

On or near July 25th of each year, a memorial service, in charge of Lundy's Lane Historical Society, is held on the battle site. A well-known historian presents an address which reviews the battle events, and Standard-bearers of the I.O.D.E. Chapters of the district with their flags add colour to the proceedings. A detail from the Lincoln and Welland Regiment present arms and the bugler sounds "The Last Post" and "Reveille". The impressive service is concluded by a prayer of remembrance given by a local minister.

Of the cemetery at Lundy's Lane no more descriptive words are written than those inscribed on a memorial tablet to Lieut.-Col. Bisshopp in the parish church of his home town in England:

> "His dirge will sound till time's no more,
> Niagara's loud and solemn roar.
> There Cecil lies — say — where the grave
> More worthy of a British brave?"

THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1959

Members are reminded of this summer's annual meeting in Peterborough, Thursday to Saturday, June 18, 19 and 20. The programme is still incomplete, but will include papers and illustrated lectures on the district's literary figures and other subjects of historic interest, as well as tours of the city, Otonabee Township and the Serpent Mounds.

A most enjoyable and instructive meeting is in prospect. Notices containing full details of programme, accommodations and registration will be mailed in due course to members and will be published in the next issue of *Ontario History*. In the meantime everyone is urged to keep the dates June 18-20 in mind and make plans and arrangements to attend.

NEW PAGES OF PREHISTORY, 1958

Edited by J. Norman Emerson[1]

1958 has been a year of greatly increased archaeological activity blanketing the whole province of Ontario and covering a time-depth of 5000 years—from the Old Copper Culture period to the search for eighteenth century forts and Hudson's Bay Company posts. The year's activity has been marked by the continuation of some projects, the completion of others, and the opening up of new problems through the investigation of new areas. Ample evidence has been encountered of the destruction of historic and prehistoric sites by the march of civilization (shades of Fort York!) but the archaeologists, too, have turned the tools of civilization to their own use. Bulldozers and high pressure hoses hastened the final recovery work at Ault Park prior to its flooding by the Hydro Power Project at Cornwall. Clyde Kennedy of Atomic Energy of Canada speeded the recovery of historic trade goods by using an electronic metal detector in his search for the Champlain Trail near Pembroke.

The year's work, perhaps more than any previous one, was marked by the search for historically-important sites. Walter Kenyon's work at Rainy Lake resulted in a search for La Verendrye's Fort St. Pierre. Frank Ridley sought out Frederick House near Timmins and Mesackamee House on Lake Kesagami. Kennedy went looking for an Indian village and cemetery seen by Champlain. Such work demonstrates a healthy interest in this particular archaeological time zone and seems to indicate the revival of an interest that was pioneered by Kenneth Kidd and Wilfrid Jury at Fort Ste. Marie, Ridley at Ossossane, and McIlwraith at Cahiague.

The year has also been marked by increased interest, activity, participation and co-operation in the archaeological field by the Department of Lands and Forests which was of tremendous assistance at the Serpent Mound, the Inverhuron site, and Ridley's indefatigable surveys in northern Ontario. The reports of rangers, tower men and other Lands and Forests personnel have greatly aided the University of Toronto in their search for Puckasaw Pit Culture manifestations in the Lake Superior area.

Work was terminated at the Ault Park site (Sheek Island, near Cornwall) which now lies under fourteen feet of water in the head pond of the great Robert Saunders power dam. A buoy floats over the site to mark where this 3500 year-old village stood.

Continuation of long-term projects brought the Royal Ontario Museum back to the Serpent Mound at Rice Lake to find new and vital information of the cultural and particularly the physical-anthropological data at this important site. At the Forget site the University of Western

1. Associate Professor of Anthropology and Supervisor of Archaeological Studies, Department of Anthropology, the University of Toronto.

Ontario is obtaining a detailed picture of the house structure, palisades and ground plan of this Huron village. Fritz Knechtel of Hanover and Edward Leprich, of the Department of Lands and Forests, added very materially to the salvage work and conservation at the Inverhuron Provincial Park. Selwyn Dewdney progressed with his highly exciting survey and recording of pictographs in the Minnesota, Quetico Park, Lake Superior region. The University of Toronto's survey of the Puckasaw Pit culture was followed with a pilot study of the seventy structures located at Red Sucker Point, just west of Marathon, on the shore of Lake Superior. Frank Ridley added substantially to his excavation programme on the Montreal River.

New projects were embarked upon both by design and of necessity. Ridley has started a long-needed investigation of historic Neutral sites in the Ancaster-Brantford area, a key area which should uncover new and important data concerning Neutral, and perhaps, Seneca occupations. This work should supplement that of Douglas Bell, formerly of Binbrook, and now of Watertown. Ridley's, Kenyon's and Kennedy's work—referred to above—all constitute steps towards the possible location and marking of more historic sites. In addition, Kenyon's researches at Pither's Point near Rainy Lake, at Lake St. Francis, at Pickering, and the work of the University of Toronto at the McDonald site near Picton, and the Bosomworth site near Bradford, represent new excursions into virtually unknown archaeological fields.

The results of the year's work are exciting and encouraging and certainly reflect the upsurge of public, institutional and governmental interest in the developing field of archaeology. Ontario is achieving a history and a prehistory comparable to its progress and perhaps to its destiny—a yardstick of potential cultural maturity.

Details of these archaeological researches are described below.

ON THE TRAIL OF CHAMPLAIN

By Clyde C. Kennedy[2]

Samuel de Champlain, in the account of his journey up the Ottawa River in 1613, tells of a visit to a "strongly situated" island whereon dwelt a group of "Algommequin" Indians headed by chief Tessouat.

It was during his brief stay with these Indians that Champlain learned that his guide, Nicholas de Vignau, was an imposter and had not in reality seen the "northern sea" the explorer sought to reach. Thus frustrated on his first trip up the Ottawa, Champlain turned back, accompanied by a large group of Indians who were to trade for the white man's goods on ships near the Lachine Rapids.

Historians have generally considered Tessouat's island to be Morrison's Island, which is three miles downstream from Pembroke. However,

2. Public Relations Officer, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, Chalk River; and Archaeologist, The Champlain Trail Museum, Pembroke.

searches of this island by many people over the years failed to reveal either an Indian village site or the associated "cemetery" mentioned by Champlain.

From time to time beginning in 1952 I made brief examinations of the island during surveys of the Ottawa Valley but always failed to locate a campsite. In 1956, accompanied by Thomas E. Lee of the National Museum of Canada, further effort was made to find a village because a highway was about to be built across the island. We found clear evidence of Indian occupation but no habitation area that warranted extensive investigation.

In 1958, when rumours suggested the island was to be sold for industrial developments, I decided to leave in abeyance other archaeological work and to conduct a particularly systematic examination, including tests with an electronic metal detector. This survey led to the discovery of a campsite of Indians who had obtained white man's trade goods. Subsequent excavations showed that the area had also been occupied by Indians of earlier times, long before Europeans set foot in North America.

When it had been established that the site warranted extensive study, assistance was obtained from members of the Ottawa Valley Historical Society and others. The work proceeded quietly, screened by the forest, while the diggers reflected upon two entirely different spirits abroad in the land. One was a surge of public interest in the past manifested in the Pembroke Centennial, which included the inaugural ceremony for the Champlain Trail Museum; the other was (to us, at least) the foreboding of doom for an island that might well hold secrets of the Ottawa Valley's history and prehistory.

However, even when public announcement was made that the American owner had put the island up for sale, the excavations proceeded methodically and unhurriedly. For if it were ever to be possible to say with some feeling of certainty that this was the island Champlain referred to in his journal, this feeling would have to be based upon strong circumstantial evidence.

Although the cultural materials in the site generally extended to no greater depth than 15 inches, every square marked out on the area was dug carefully to more than 3 feet where hard-packed clay containing boulders was reached. This seemingly fruitless exercise was eventually rewarded with the discovery, at a depth of nearly 3 feet, of a bundle burial of considerable interest. In addition to four large flint blades, one about 10 inches long and 5 inches wide, 212 crudely-fashioned copper beads were associated with the remains. Copper salts added a green hue to the bones to go with the brilliant red of a sprinkling of hematite and the varying shades of yellow and orange from what appeared to be altered iron pyrites.

As only 700 square feet of the site have been excavated to date, only preliminary and generalized comments can be made on the archaeology.

The 7-inch-deep topsoil has yielded hundreds of porcelain and glass trade beads, pieces of pottery, flint arrow points and scrapers, whetstones, mammal bones, fish bones and scales, and chips of flint, quartz and quartzite. A piece of graphite and numerous small deposits of red hematite were probably part of the inhabitants' paint supplies.

Metallic objects in the topsoil included three crudely-cut pieces of brass, probably taken from trade kettles; two tips of iron knives; and four pieces of iron about 4 inches long and pointed at both ends, that appear to be similar to the "double-pointed bars" described by Kenneth E. Kidd in *The Excavation of Ste. Marie I.* Shattered stones were numerous and several hearths were excavated.

From the bottom of the topsoil to a depth of about 15 inches lies pottery usually considered to be of the Point Peninsula culture and accorded an antiquity of hundreds of years. Some of the fragments clearly show the coil method of manufacture. Design techniques include rocker stamping, incising, complex dentate, pseudo-scallop shell and cord-wrapped stick. Firestones were numerous and several undisturbed hearths were uncovered. Other materials included an adze; a large side-notched quartz projectile point and a small, stemmed quartzite point; several whetstones and a hammerstone; pieces of mica and small bits of red hematite; and many flint chips. Widely scattered bits of calcined bone, a few snail shells and small deposits of pin cherry seeds were found.

For historians in the Ottawa Valley this brief report must end on a note of uncertainty; and yet there is an air of promise for those who go about their discoveries with the aid of an excruciatingly slow hand trowel. There is yet no proof (if indeed there could ever be "proof") that the terminal point of Champlain's journey of 1613 has been found. What has been found is an archaeological site of considerable scientific interest that will receive extensive attention next summer. And Morrison's Island has been purchased by H. Smith and Dean R. Rogers of Pembroke who have shown keen interest in the protection of the site; the latter is one of the people who were instrumental in the establishment of the Champlain Trail Museum in Pembroke where material from Morrison's Island is now on display.

INVESTIGATIONS AT LAKE ST. FRANCIS

By W. A. Kenyon[3]

One of the greatest charms of archaeological field-work is its uncertainty. Regardless of any elaborate strategy that the field-director may have worked out, he rarely knows what his next move will be. Broadly speaking, of course, he is attempting to answer some specific historical or scientific question when he selects a site for excavation. Frequently he is successful; but just as frequently he is unsuccessful in answering the original question. And occasionally, as with Schliemann at Troy, the

3. Assistant Curator of Ethnology, The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

archaeologist is deluged with answers to questions which have not yet been asked! But such is the nature of all scientific research. The student is attempting to delve into the unknown, and must follow his data wherever they may lead him. And archaeological investigations, like beautiful women, are notoriously unpredictable.

This entire process was sharply portrayed in a project carried out by the Royal Ontario Museum last spring in Lake St. Francis, a part of the St. Lawrence River system between Cornwall and the Quebec border. It has been known for many years that this area is rich in archaeological specimens. Mr. Cameron of Summerstown, who was born and grew up on Thompson Island in Lake St. Francis, has a large collection of artifacts, most of which he picked up on his farm. They include specimens from the Iroquois, Owasco, Point Peninsula and Laurentian cultures, as well as a wide range of materials from the early historic period. Another resident of Summerstown, Mr. George Gogo, has an equally large and diversified collection, mainly from the same island.

After visiting both Mr. Cameron and Mr. Gogo, I examined the site at the southwest end of the island. A thin mantle of cultural debris covered a wide area there, yielding pottery similar to that described by Dr. W. E. Ritchie from his various Point Peninsula sites in New York State. But earlier material had been found there also. I decided, therefore, that there was a reasonably good chance of gathering some information on the Laurentian occupation of Eastern Ontario, and particularly of obtaining some charcoal suitable for radio-carbon dating that culture by excavating a portion of the site. On May 15, I left Toronto accompanied by three University of Toronto students, and proceeded to Lake St. Francis.

In the following month—all the time we could devote to the project—we excavated 1200 square feet of the island to subsoil, and did some exploratory work on neighbouring islands and along the north shore of the lake without finding a single specimen which we could attribute to the Laurentian culture. In terms of our initial problem, then, the entire expedition was a complete failure.

Meanwhile, however, we had discovered that Lake St. Francis was a densely populated region in middle or late Point Peninsula times. With the assistance and co-operation of Mr. Gogo we located six Point Peninsula village sites, and collected over 3,500 specimens, mostly potsherds. At this stage very little can be said about any of the villages. Generally, they consisted of extensive but shallow deposits, rich in ceramic and stone artifacts, but producing very little bone. (An exception is bi-laterally barbed bone harpoons, which occur in considerable numbers.) Most of the sites also produced a few Iroquois sherds, evidence of the more recent movement of peoples up and down this important waterway.

Neither burials, refuse pits nor stratigraphy were encountered at any site on the lake. As a result, we are still moving largely in the dark.

We may be dealing, at the various sites, with true village deposits, i.e. middens which were built up during relatively short periods of occupation. On the other hand, each site may in fact be a seasonal camp, occupied sporadically over a very long period of time. Only additional investigation can solve this problem; and further work, which should clarify the situation, is planned for the near future. Meanwhile, we have been forced to revise our research program, to adapt it to those data which were unearthed by spade and trowel.

When we return to Lake St. Francis, then, it will be to investigate the Point Peninsula culture. But again we will be moving into the unknown, into the undeciphered record of an ancient culture which still lies buried on the shores and islands of the lake. Until the actual digging is completed the uncertainty will remain. Perhaps on our next visit to the area we will locate the lump of charcoal which proved so elusive this past summer.

FAREWELL TO AULT PARK

By J. N. Emerson

On the night of June 30th I went out to the bunker on Sheek Island. We drove along "new" No. 2 Highway and passed the barricade where the crowds were already gathering for the morrow. Down we drove past the levelled village of Milles Roches. For the last time we crossed the canal to Sheek Island upon the swing bridge; tomorrow it would be floated away on barges. Now, while still in place, it was held by stout ropes. We drove quietly down the forlorn road; the fences were gone, as were the trees, hydro poles and warning road signs. As we neared the scene of our three summers of excavation, vicious wind-blown sand cut our faces. It seemed useless to pick up another pottery fragment or chip of flint. This was the end.

While yet there was time during the early part of 1958 archaeological work at Ault Park was continued. The bulldozer uncovered a prodigious area and revealed a second concentrated burial area similar to that recovered by our previous excavations. Sporadic cremations were encountered throughout the entire area of nearly two acres. Sprinkled red ochre and grave goods including flint projectile points and knife blades were characteristic. Over two dozen fire-burned stone hearth concentrations were found scattered at random over the excavated area but no convincing house patterns were recovered. The ceramic and lithic material presents us with a vast task of analysis which will occupy many months. There is little doubt that Ault Park represents a middle period Point Peninsula site with considerable comparative value for northeastern archaeology.

In terms of normal archaeological techniques the excavation of Ault Park is now completed. However the site is marked by a buoy and if the wave and current action is favourable it is possible that many artifacts

may be exposed by water action. We intend to have the area checked by skin-divers this coming summer. Perhaps new items will be added.

The field work has been done and the results of three summers' excavation are still in the process of analysis. Much has been learned, and this will be supplemented in detail as laboratory analysis proceeds. This report seeks only to highlight such results. The details of the archaeological analysis will come later. I believe that perhaps deeper and more significant results for archaeology underlie the Ault Park excavations.

First among these was a display we set up in the Wood House, Cornwall. This is the small but extremely interesting Museum of the United Counties (Glengarry, Stormont and Dundas). It is called the "Indian Room" and we are proud of the display. We were equally proud to be associated in this project with Miss Mary Mack whose dynamic personality spearheaded our efforts. We were impressed when this exhibit was visited and, I believe, genuinely enjoyed and appreciated by the Honourable Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario; the Honourable J. Keiller Mackay, Lieutenant-Governor, their charming wives, and accompanying dignitaries. We were grateful to and charmed by Dr. Charlotte Whitton who opened the exhibit. We are much indebted to the executive of the Howard Smith Paper Mills who backed and sponsored the Museum and the Exhibit.

Secondly we were profoundly impressed by the interest and cooperation of the Hydro Electric Power Commission, and the people of Cornwall. They lent us material and equipment and carried out their program in a manner calculated to disrupt our work as little as possible. Many Cornwall citizens and Hydro personnel spent their free time working with us. This was all a rewarding experience. It is the way we feel archaeology should be carried on—for in a sense it is everybody's business and all have a part to play.

THE SERPENT MOUNDS

By Richard B. Johnson[4]

Work at Serpent Mounds was continued in 1958 by the Royal Ontario Museum, Division of Art and Archaeology, with a crew of fourteen excavating over a ten-week period. As in previous years, the project was carried out in conjunction with the Department of Lands and Forests and the Serpent Mound Foundation of Peterborough.

Actually, the first find of the summer was made before the arrival of the crew when Lands and Forests workmen, installing a septic tank beneath one of the archaeological camp cottages, came across a flexed burial in a shallow grave near the shore of Rice Lake. After uncovering the skull they stopped digging and notified the museum. Later the burial was entirely excavated by the museum staff and found to be without grave goods and in a very poor state of preservation. Throughout the

4. Field Director, The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

summer thirty-one other burials were recovered, ten of these from the Serpent Mound itself. Perhaps the most spectacular was Burial Number 28, which was first encountered late in the 1957 season but, for lack of time, left *in situ* until last summer. This was a flexed burial of a young adult male in a pit in the original ground level beneath the Serpent Mound. There are no indications, however, that this and other similar graves were not dug by the same group who subsequently built the Serpent Mound over them. Burial Number 28 was accompanied by a variety of objects—the most ever found in one grave in three years of work—including disc shell beads, concretions, fossils, small mammal bones, fish bones and scales, the bill elements of a large bird and, from beneath the skull, a small carved stone animal effigy. It is not certain what animal was being portrayed but a good guess is that it represents a bird—a conjecture reinforced by discovery of the bird beak in the grave. Unhappily, no pottery was among the grave goods.

Work also was resumed in Mound I, a very low oval structure adjacent to the Serpent Mound, where twelve additional burials were found, bringing the total from the mass grave therein to twenty-nine.

A block of 24 five-foot squares were excavated in the shell midden deposits near the shore of Rice Lake. Herein an abundance of material was found, marking this as the habitation place of at least one group in the past. Test squares dug in an attempt to find the limits of the shell deposit established that it extends at least 600 feet along the shore of Rice Lake. Clearly then, this area holds promise for future work, as do others close by the mound group which were briefly investigated. Exploratory excavations not far north revealed a pit containing eight skulls and some few other bones of the body, not enough to make up eight skeletons. Elsewhere, other test squares and trenches likewise provided additional data and information thus extending the survey and showing the extensive features of the site where future work might best be done.

THE MacDONALD SITE

By Richard Pearson[5]

In August, 1958, a combined crew from the University of Toronto's Department of Anthropology and the National Museum of Canada excavated an Iroquois village site on the farm of Mr. Alan MacDonald on the outskirts of Bloomfield, Prince Edward County. Previously a small party had surveyed the more readily available sites in the area and selected the MacDonald site as the most suitable for further work.

Prince Edward County, even before construction of the Murray Canal converted it into an island, is interesting because of its isolation, and its being linked through a series of small islands with the south shore of Lake Ontario. In this connection it has been examined by William Ritchie

5. Anthropology student, the University of Toronto, and National Museum of Canada field assistant.

of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences. We were anxious to see the extent to which a village on the fringe of the Huron, Onondaga-Oneida, and Mohawk areas would illustrate a fusion of elements from each group in such sensitive indicators as clay pottery.

The land in general is fertile and flat and animal life is abundant, in spite of the large amount of deforestation. The site, approximately 300 feet square as texture and colour differences in the sandy soil showed, sloped gently to the north. At the bottom of the slope was a depression, in which were growing willow shrubs; local people pointed out that in the spring there was enough water in this area to support carp and other fishes. In earlier times, no doubt, the inhabitants secured water from what was then a substantial creek.

Directing our efforts to a large midden at the bottom of the slope—apparently the only extensive one on the site—we soon discovered that, except for a few deep areas, the black ashy deposit was disturbed and mixed by ploughing and shifting. Very little stone, fire-cracked or otherwise, was found. While the cultural material was not over fourteen inches in average depth, our trench, 110 feet by 10 feet, produced about 9,000 fragments of baked clay pottery, 328 of which were analyzable rim sherds. Bone, shell, and polished and chipped stone artifacts were also recovered.

The inhabitants of the village, like most Iroquois Indians, lived by agriculture—corn and squash—and supplemented their diet with clams and fish, as well as animals and birds. While they must have utilized local plants and berries, no direct evidence of these was found. From the number of bone fragments analyzed, one can see a reliance upon deer and rodents for food; at times, however, they ate such things as turtles, and even human flesh! At the depth of 8 inches, in a small intrusive pit, were a human mandible and femur. While it is possible that the bones were dug up and neglected in an exhumation for a secondary burial, and found by rodents, the gnawing or scraping marks on the upper portions of the jaw do not bear this out. Cannibalism, in most cases ritual rather than subsistence, has been noted on other Iroquois sites. While all the fish remains have not been analyzed, bone remains of catfish, pike and carp have been noted. Many clam shells, a few used as digging and scraping tools, were also found.

From the evidence of post molds, our site was protected, on one side at least, by a palisade. The post molds were about 9 inches apart, and extended into the ground to an average depth of 22 inches.

An interesting bone tube, well polished and incised, may have been used by an Indian doctor to suck out evil spirits from his patients. Beads, made from small long bones, cut and polished, as well as from native copper and soapstone, were recovered. Flattened deer toe bones like those at the Roebuck and Woodbridge Sites, gaming discs made from flat round pebbles, and reshaped pot sherds also occurred in large quantities. A few

small children's clay pots and a large number of pipes showed a careful use of local clay resources. Many Trumpet pipe forms were noted; they were also a majority type at the Roebuck Site. Two complete pipes, one a small effigy of a human or bear, and the other a large very rare corn cob model, were among the most interesting items of the season but no stone or bone pipes were found.

Iroquois sites do not generally yield large quantities of stone material. The MacDonald site produced but two complete adzes and three fragmentary triangular flint arrow points, as well as a quantity of flakes and scrapers and one reused slate knife, picked up by the Indians from a local Archaic manifestation. Forty-five bone needles, one bone arrow point with a concave base, two fragments of charred antler, eight engraving tools made from the front teeth of beavers and muskrats, and a deer mandible used for scraping corn cobs provided an interesting bone assemblage.

The large sample of pottery has not been exhaustively analyzed; from the work already done, a large number of Mohawk (and Chance) and Onondaga sherds, with a small amount of Huron types are indicated. None of the sherds show the elaborate castellations or effigies belonging to the immediate pre-contact or post contact times. Yet the rarity of body sherds which are not smooth (even Onondaga check-stamping) and the very slight concavity of the rims do not seem to indicate a particularly early time horizon. Without resorting to a detailed comparison with a large number of other sites, we would seem safe in assigning the site to the early fourteenth century A.D.

While the season's excavations produced a good ceramic sample, they did not reveal much about the layout of the village. As well as uncovering larger areas, we need to secure comparative material from other sites, of which there are many others along the shore. Not only is the area rich but it also is strategically located for the study of the interactions of prehistoric Iroquois groups. The work of securing a complete picture of these people, as derived from archaeology, has just begun.

A LATE WOODLAND SITE NEAR PICKERING *By W. A. Kenyon*

In February 1957, the Museum was asked to investigate a site near Pickering, just east of Toronto, where some human bones had been unearthed. The following spring, as soon as the ground had thawed sufficiently, a weekend was devoted to salvaging the undisturbed portions of the grave, and searching the surrounding area for the village whose presence was indicated by the burial.

The grave proved to be an eliptical pit with vertical sides, about 4 feet deep, containing the bodies of at least eleven individuals. With the exception of one new-born infant, all of the bodies had been extensively dismembered prior to their final burial in the communal grave.

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Both sexes and a wide range of ages were present. Grave offerings included a number of rodent teeth, several catfish pectoral spines which had been modified, probably for use as awls, one harpoon fashioned from a long bone of some large mammal, and the bones of two common loons. Included in the grave fill were several fragments of pottery which were subsequently identified as belonging to the Glen Meyer focus. Our search of the surrounding area located a small, shallow midden a few hundred feet to the east which produced the same Glen Meyer pottery as in the grave fill.

When an opportunity presented itself this fall we returned to the site to excavate the midden. As was suggested by our earlier testing, the midden was small and shallow, but very rich in artifacts. Beneath the midden, however, we made a most exciting discovery. Here was a line of post moulds marking the outline of some ancient structure. Abandoning our earlier project—which by this time was virtually completed anyway—we began following the line of post moulds to see where it would lead. At first we thought that we were tracing the plan of a house, but it soon became apparent that there was a slight curve to the line, and that we were following a palisade. By the time the lateness of the season and other duties forced the abandonment of the project we had followed the palisade for over 300 feet, and had plotted some 400 posts on our map of the site. Spaced roughly at 8-inch intervals, the posts had an average diameter of 3½ inches. Very few of the moulds have been sectioned up to the present, but it appears that they were driven into the ground about 18 inches.

In the spring we will continue following the palisade till the total dimensions of the village are known, and then begin the very formidable task of excavating the entire site.

A SEARCH FOR HISTORIC NEUTRAL

By Frank Ridley[6]

In the fall of 1957 I became interested in a collection of Huron-like pipes and associated iron tools on display in the Dundurn Castle museum at Hamilton. These items were from the Daniels farm at Ancaster. I communicated with Mr. Lloyd Daniels and arranged permission to examine his site the following spring. Assuming this site to be of the historic Neutral Iroquoian nation about whose utility ceramics we have little knowledge, I planned a program of checking materials from it with those of other such sites in the same area.

During 1958 I made many excursions, particularly to the Seeley site near Brantford, aided at various times by Dr. C. H. D. Clarke, Mr. P. W. Sweetman and Professor E. S. Carpenter. Much information on both sites and material was acquired from Messrs. Robert and George Parkin, J. B. Morton and E. Sackrider. All these gentlemen have extensive col-

6. Member of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

lections of artifacts from historic Neutral sites of the Brantford-Ancaster district. A pottery collection from the Kempt farm in the possession of the Brant Historical Society was recorded, and much data obtained from the Rutherford-Smith collection of McMaster University.

The pottery types listed from the collections were duplicated by the result of our excavations; therefore a quantitive sample of valid information has accumulated. This will be presented in due course.

THE INVERHURON PROVINCIAL PARK, SEASON 1958

By Fritz Knechtel[7]

Work was continued on the various archaeological areas within the Inverhuron Provincial Park, Bruce Township, Bruce County. The Parks Division of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests made available the services of Mr. Edward Leprich, a graduate of Waterloo College, for two full days each week during the months of May, June, July and August during which time I too was free to assist in this work of archaeological research and salvage.

In 1957 the Royal Ontario Museum had undertaken a two-months' investigation of the area under the auspices of the Provincial Parks system. Messrs. Walter Kenyon and Jim Wright indicated at the close of their season's work certain additional areas that in their opinion required further checking. Much of what they designated was part of an important pre-ceramic site, and during 1958 more artifacts were discovered which appeared to be of considerable importance.

In addition, a general checking of the park resulted in the location of further areas with cultural material covering a wide range of occupation. Many leads by interested parties were followed up, unfortunately with little result. New areas were tested; some "stone piles" considered locally to be graves, were checked negatively; much back-filling and tidying-up of excavated areas was accomplished. Protection of a fish-bone area for later investigation was assured. A full check was also kept on construction work in the locality—on areas being levelled, roads being bulldozed, post-holes being dug, and so forth.

In all, some 26 squares of 5 foot dimension (674 square feet) were completed, averaging in depth from 12 inches to 5 feet, some in new locations but the majority adjacent to the 1957 excavations. The material retrieved covered the thousands of years of occupation in the Inverhuron Provincial Park, from the earlier rough items—choppers and "bust-offs"—through points of flint, chert, quartz, quartzite, scrapers, "skinning-stones", hammer and anvil stones, sinkers, bone awls, and pottery of more recent periods. One item of considerable interest was the complete skeleton of a large dog, found buried with some care in a fire-pit. All the material is now in the hands of the Parks Division for evaluation

7. Of Hanover, Ontario. Member of the Ontario Archaeological Society.

and as a supplement to the 1957 finds. It is understood that when the study is completed it will be on display within the Inverhuron Provincial Park. Such a collection will be vital for historical study and research of the area, for seldom have cultures from the early pre-ceramic, Laurentian, Point Peninsula, and early pottery types down through early Iroquoian to Petun and white occupation, been found within such narrow limits. Much still remains for future study, for in actuality the Park has only been sampled.

The interest and encouragement, as well as the financial outlay by the Provincial Parks Division in furthering this archaeological survey of the park area, cannot be commended too highly. This unfolding of the past, this research and preservation of vital and new historical factors, will be of utmost future value, furnishing almost the full story of man's presence in Bruce County and in Ontario.

THE BOSOMWORTH SITE

By J. N. Emerson

During the fall of 1958 Mr. Norman Bosomworth of West Gwillimbury Township opened up a grave pit upon his farm. Almost immediately skeletal material began to appear. Several skeletons went out in the gravel trucks before the owner realized what was happening and called a halt to the operations. Several skeletons were turned over to the provincial police for identification and the county coroner, Dr. Blackwell of Bradford, contacted the University of Toronto. Dr. J. E. Anderson of the Department of Anatomy and the writer immediately visited the site, saw some of the skeletal remains, and realized that an ancient Indian cemetery had been encountered. Three skeletons were recovered from the police and others were visible in the face of the gravel pit at the point of excavation. The burials appeared to have been made in shallow pits and in a tightly flexed position. From then on our weekends and free hours during the week were spent removing skeletons as they appeared and testing the area for more so that the gravel operation could proceed unobstructed. The local authorities surrounded the pit with a snow fence and placed the site under police protection. Mr. Bosomworth phoned us whenever the front loaders encountered another skeleton. The gravel men became extremely skilful in detecting the burial pits. They would then stop and work in another part of the area.

Our first impression of the skeletons was that they were pre-Iroquoian. They appeared to have the end to end bite, the pronounced curve of Spee, and the generally good, healthy, caries-free teeth so characteristic of pre-Iroquois, who lived upon a meat diet and chewed with a rotary motion. The initial finds were adults. As excavation proceeded a peculiar pattern was established. Further completely flexed adults were recovered but gradually a picture of mutilation and injury appeared. One individual appeared with a completely severed thorax. One "burial" contained only

a humerus, a clavicle and a few isolated finger bones. Another contained an extra skull. Skull fractures and cuts were also evident. This type of mutilation and the evidence of violent death and brutality is quite common on pre-Iroquois sites, so our hopes for a burial ground of some antiquity were raised. In time a surprising number of young, perhaps even still-born infants, including a set of twins buried facing each other in a head to foot orientation, were encountered. The presence of these young ones raised the possibility of a nearby village. I had seen two adzes which were reported from the area and was optimistic that perhaps a Laurentian site might be encountered. The location of the burial ground upon the east slope of a huge rolling sandy-gravel hill was similar to others in the eastern suburbs of Toronto which had yielded Laurentian artifacts.

It was therefore a very considerable surprise when we encountered an Iroquoian site at the base of the northern slope of the hill, a few hundred yards from the burial ground. The site yielded pipes and ceramics which appeared typical of the Lalonde stage of Iroquois as described by Frank Ridley. The Bosomworths, who were keenly interested and co-operative in the entire operation, granted us permission to dig this area. We spent an entire weekend with a group of university students obtaining an analysable sample from the site. Detailed analysis remains to be done, but preliminary observations suggest a substantial amount of Lalonde High Collared, interspersed with both Huron and Neutral ceramic types and an almost total lack of Black Necked. The pipes are almost all of the ring-bowl and trumpet type. No coronet nor effigy forms were encountered. Castellations tend towards the early and middle Iroquoian forms of relative simplicity. This village would appear related to the York and Kinghorn sites to the south and to the Lalonde manifestations to the north as described by Ridley. We are keenly interested in this sample because it will provide a series that can be compared with those of Ridley and perhaps help clarify the cultural and temporal relationships of Lalonde.

We have no artifactual material which will allow us to associate the burial site with the adjacent village site, though it is tempting to do so. A single bone point was found with the graves. This could be Iroquoian, but no pipes, projectile points or ceramic materials have been found in or near the graves. We would anticipate ossuary burials with the site material but the pattern of individual burial is by no means unknown, as for example at the Aurora site. The McKenzie site at Woodbridge produced both individual and ossuary burial types. It is possible that additional graves will appear at the Bosomworth site and we may be fortunate enough to encounter diagnostic material in association. Until then the burials and the village will have to be treated as discrete entities.

Dr. J. E. Anderson is carrying out the detailed study of the skeletal material, which even on casual observation presents an interesting picture of possible malnutrition, arthritis, high infant mortality and evidence of mutilation and injury. The dental picture raises an interesting problem, insofar as it is more characteristic of a pre-Iroquoian, pre-agricultural people, than it would be of Huron, for example, where overbite and profound caries are characteristic. If these skeletons could be related to the Lalonde stage of Ontario Iroquois development, then an interesting correlation suggests itself. Lalonde could well exist prior to the expansion of Iroquois agriculture, and hunting and gathering might well be basic to their economy, with agriculture playing only a subsidiary role. Thus the Bosomworth people would exhibit dental conditions intermediate between a pre-agricultural and a fully agricultural people. In many ways this seems to be the case. We hope we may be able to look somewhat further into the problems of this site.

A HURON SETTLEMENT PATTERN STUDY

By Wilfrid Jury[8]

During the first weeks of July the University of Western Ontario Summer School of Indian Archaeology continued work on the Forget Site, near Wyebridge. This is an early precontact village in the heart of the Huron country near the southern shores of Georgian Bay.

The summer of 1958 was the fifth season of work on the site, since our decision was made to continue there until all evidence is exhausted, in order to study the various facets of life in detail in one specific prehistoric village at one period of time. There is evidence of only one occupation at the Forget Site, covering possibly some ten years. It is hoped that by carbon dating a relatively exact estimate of its age may be determined.

To date the lines of a double palisade have been traced, with elongated, narrow approaches and two look-outs commanding a view of the Wye valley. Within the palisade the outline of ten buildings have been uncovered, seven of which have been thoroughly examined. In the light, sandy soil post molds and other discolorations show up clearly, allowing a detailed study of the plan of the building, the method of construction, and the materials used. A wide variety of ash pits, refuse pits, storage pits and fire pits have been investigated in the floor areas of the buildings.

Artifact recoveries have not been numerous in the building interiors, although some interesting finds were made in pits. Two large refuse pits, located outside the palisade, have yielded prolific amounts of pottery, chiefly in a wide variety of Iroquois-Huron design. In the summer of 1957 a cache of thirteen pieces of native copper was found in Refuse

8. Curator, The Museum of Indian Archaeology and Pioneer Life, The University of Western Ontario.

Pit I between the outer and inner palisade lines. They consisted of knives, arrow points and spear points. A single find of one copper knife was made in Refuse Pit I in 1958. Smaller finds of copper have been made in house interiors, including partially-worked pieces.

In the months of August and September, 1958, a survey was made of the northern section of Tay Township, Simcoe County, Ontario. This peninsula in part remains uncultivated, although logged off some fifty to seventy-five years ago. Historically the area is of considerable importance. It is believed to be where the first white man, Etienne Brulé, was sent by Champlain as scout and interpreter to the Huron nation as early as 1610. Here, too, came Champlain and the first missionary, Joseph Le Caron, with twelve French soldiers in 1615. The first Jesuit missions were situated in the vicinity for some years previous to their removal to the central residence of Sainte Marie, near Midland.

As a result of our search, the locations of seven village sites were established but no attempt at identification will be made until more exhaustive explorations are carried out. Specimens recovered from the sites examined indicate early and later Huron. One large site was found to have been surrounded by a triple palisade. In this work I was assisted by Miss Marjorie Johnston, Honours History student at the University of Western Ontario, Miss Nanci Swayze, graduate student in Anthropology now at the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Donald Abbott, recent graduate in Anthropology from the University of British Columbia.

THE MOUND AT PITHERS POINT

By W. A. Kenyon

With the assistance of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, the Royal Ontario Museum spent approximately one month excavating at Pithers Point this past summer. The Point is situated at the outlet of Rainy Lake and has long been of interest to both historians and archaeologists: to the historian, because it was there that La Jemeraye built Fort St. Pierre for La Verendrye in 1731; to the archaeologist because a large camp-site is located there, as well as an artificial mound at the very tip of the point.

Relatively little time was spent in searching for La Verendrye's fort because there remain only a few undisturbed areas which would have been suitable sites for such a structure. These were cross-trenched, in the hope of locating some traces of the fort, but with completely meagre results. In all probability, then, the fort was located farther to the north, either where the railroad now cuts across the point, or immediately to the north of the right-of-way.

The main task which occupied most of our time was the excavation of the mound. This structure had been seriously disturbed in the past by erosion during periods of high water and also by unauthorized digging. There remained, however, an irregular mass, some 25 feet in diameter,

and rising approximately 4 feet above the prevailing ground level. After surveying the mound and cleaning up the south and east faces where erosion had been most severe, we cut a series of trenches through it in search of any surviving structural features. We soon discovered, however, that the mound was simply a heap of earth containing hundreds of fragments of Assiniboin pottery, and the usual debris that accumulates around an Indian village. Whatever might have been the purpose of the Indians in constructing the mound, evidence of that purpose had long since disappeared. Fortunately, we know from similar structures in the area that these were burial mounds.

While we were excavating the mound, we also cut some narrow trenches through the neighbouring camp-ground that is still used by the Indians of the region on their periodic visits to Fort Frances. A comparison of the material recovered from the trenches with that from the mound itself, would suggest the following sequence of events.

The first visitors to Pithers Point of which we have any record were the Old Copper People. This group was centred in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, but spread at least as far east as the Trent valley in Southern Ontario. Radio-carbon dates from some graves of these people indicate that they were living near Oconto, Wisconsin, as long ago as 5000 years before the birth of Christ. At approximately the same time—although it may have been a thousand years earlier or later—the people who made these distinctive copper tools were living along Rainy Lake and Rainy River. At present there is no evidence to suggest that this group maintained a settlement on Pithers Point; perhaps one of their hunters or fishermen merely lost some of his weapons there. In any event, a fine copper gaff which can be attributed unmistakably to the Old Copper culture was excavated here.

Following the time when these early metal-workers occupied Rainy Lake, the region seems to have been visited by another group which left some large flint tools scattered sparsely along the lakes and rivers. These isolated tools are all that is known of this group at present. But whoever they were, they also visited the Point, where a few of their tools were found.

Present evidence suggests very strongly that the area was rather thinly settled till the arrival of the Assiniboin, the people who built the mound and left most of the debris which has accumulated on the point over the centuries. Whether they maintained a permanent settlement there or, more probably, merely visited it periodically, as do the present inhabitants of the area, is not clear. Nor do we know the date of their appearance in the region. By the late prehistoric period, however, they were living there in considerable numbers. The subsequent movement of the Assiniboin into southern Manitoba has been documented both historically and archaeologically. And this movement was associated with the arrival of the Ojibwa, who still occupy the Rainy River country.

At Pithers Point, then, our excavation produced artifacts which can be attributed to the Old Copper culture, to a still unnamed group who probably appeared at a later date, to the Assiniboin and the Ojibwa, as well as beads and metal objects from the fur-trading period.

The distribution of this material offers us the only clue to the dating of the mound. Although material of European origin was found on the surface of the structure and in some of the disturbed portions, none was actually found in the undisturbed portions of the mound fill. It is probably a safe assumption, therefore, that the mound was constructed in the pre-historic period. On the other hand, a superficial comparison of the pottery fragments from the interior of the mound with pottery from an Assiniboin site of the early historic period reveals a high degree of similarity. And this, in turn, would suggest a fairly close relationship in time. For this reason, it is highly unlikely that the mound was built much more than 400 years ago.

PICTOGRAPHS

By Selwyn Dewdney[9]

A cluster of pictograph sites was located in Quetico Provincial Park by Kenneth Kidd in 1955. I began the systematic recording of such sites two years later, under the sponsorship of the Quetico Foundation during the summer of '57; and by the Foundation, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Wilderness Research Center in Minnesota during the past summer. The Ontario Department of Lands and Forests also gave substantial help in the field.

To date 36 sites have been visited: six in northern Minnesota, thirteen in or near Quetico Park, seven in the Rainy Lake area, four east of Lake of the Woods, two in the Thunder Bay region, and four to the immediate east of Lake Superior. By the year's end over 200 full-size water colour reproductions, based on measurements, tracings, sketches, notes and photographs made on the spot, will be deposited with the Royal Ontario Museum. Reports of at least another 30 sites in Ontario, with the likelihood of many more to come, suggest that the project may continue for another two or three years.

The sites explored in 1958 continue to show the wide range of style and subject matter noted previously in the first sites. In addition to the predominating iron-oxide based pigments producing variations of "Indian red", white pigment makes its appearance at three sites, and black at one. Shallow petroglyphs recorded at Nett Lake, Minnesota, and two lightly pecked petroglyphs on Agnes Lake in Quetico Park are the only instances in which no colour was used.

Reported "colour petroglyphs" at Agawa Rock on the east shore of Lake Superior turned out to be painted only, but the site proved to have much more exciting possibilities. There is every reason to believe that this is one of two pictograph sites described, illustrated and interpreted

9. Artist and writer of London, Ontario.

by Henry Schoolcraft more than a century ago. If so, it offers the first real toehold on the problem of dating, motivating and interpreting the Shield pictographs.

NORTHERN SURVEY

By Frank Ridley

During 1958 a search was undertaken in northern Ontario for possible remains of Frederick House post of Frederick House Lake near Timmins, and an exploration of the shores of Lake Kesagami for Indian sites. I also wished to see the location of Mesackamee House, built on Lake Kesagami by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1777. With the assistance of Mrs. Ridley and Mr. Paul W. Sweetman I devoted the latter part of August to these projects, beginning at Timmins.

Philip Turnor, Hudson's Bay Company surveyor, wrote in 1785 that he had removed from a location on the Abitibi River to "a little gravel hill on the south east shore of Lake Waratowaha" (Frederick House Lake), and the site was "at the juncture of two lakes". This relates to the establishment of Frederick House post or fort. In a footnote in the Champlain Society's edition of Turnor's Journals, Dr. J. B. Tyrrell said that the site was a gravel ridge extended across the mouth of Barber's Bay on the south east shore, and that it was removed for railroad construction purposes. We spent a full day examining, testing soil and inquiring along this shore.

The only sand or gravel area on the south east shore of Frederick House Lake is at the entrance to Barber's Bay. It comprises a narrow, high ridge that borders the northeast shore of the bay and originally projected across the bay mouth. The part across the mouth has indeed been removed to the low level of a railway which here crosses the outlet. Some small sections of the original surface are on each side of the railway cut and in these we found evidence of Indian occupation in flints and firestones. This is the location of the trading fort as described by Tyrrell and the longtime residents of nearby Connaught village. It also accords with the description of its founder in that it was gravel, was on the south east shore and at the junction of two lakes. For Barber's Bay despite the name is not a bay—it is a lake two and one half miles long connected to the large lake by a short stream. In my opinion this was the site of Frederick House fort, the ground having been removed to make a railroad. It seems a sad commentary that in so many places in this province, the rare scenes of our dramatic past have fallen before the uncaring skill of modern engineering.

On the 16th of August aircraft of the Department of Lands and Forests transported our party and a freight canoe to the south side of Big Island in Lake Kesagami. This shallow lake covers some ninety square miles and drains to James Bay by an outlet in its northeast corner. At the southeast corner a narrows connects to Newnham Bay which is a series of connected lakes extending to the south for sixteen miles. On

the west shore of the large southwest bay of Lake Kesagami was the Hudson's Bay post called Mesackamee House, established 1777 by George Atkinson.

Though vile weather gave us varying amounts of rain every day, and the incessant wind often kept us shore bound, we visited the lake outlet in the northeast corner, found old and modern Indian camp sites at the entrance to Newnham Bay, cruised to the bottom of this bay and inspected numerous points and high spots on the shores. Because of the windswept traverse of rough water I thought it prudent not to venture to the Mesackamee House location by canoe.

But one archaeological site was found. This is on a sandy forested eminence of eight feet above water level on the west side of the entrance to Newnham Bay. In thick uncleared woods extending some one hundred yards parallel to the shore are firestones and a shallow layer of burned soil. On the highest part near the bank edge we found a concentration of firestones and black earth extending downward 9 inches. We excavated and screened three 5 foot squares to a depth of 1 foot. In two days work we recovered a few flint chips and some fragments of cut brass. Opposite this site on low ground is a modern Indian camp ground. Snowshoes, pots, kettles and other household gear were suspended from trees.

The outlet of Lake Kesagami is wide, shallow and swift, the banks being forested muck and rocks only elevated two feet above the water. We found the ashes of two recent campfires, a discarded snowshoe, and many mosquitoes. Not a sign of old Indian occupation did we find other than that at the narrows of Newnham Bay.

When our pilot came for us we took off, flew across the lake and landed in the shallow bay opposite a stand of deciduous trees that mark the raised shore where once stood Mesackamee House. I waded ashore and found an area of clay soil on which are stands of large birch, poplars, spruce and balsam, well spaced and enclosing openings of rank grass and field plants. The area is continuous along the shore for some four hundred yards. In these grassy glades are scattered groups of tent stakes and the remains of a small, once tent-roofed log house. Since the plane was waiting, time did not allow digging or a search for pits, but I did follow the shore to the stream where in Atkinson's time was constructed a dam for catching fish. Little is now to be seen of this considerable stream. To approach it I had to cling to willow roots, the outlet being a morass into which I sank to my knees.

We left Lake Kesagami on August 27th. We were impressed with the courtesy, safety and promptness with which the Lands and Forests air division conveyed us to and from Lake Kesagami.

From a study of maps I had hoped to find on the shores of undisturbed Lake Kesagami a stratified site that would chronologically index the great quantity of material collected from the artificial beaches of Lake Abitibi. In this I was disappointed. I am now of the opinion that Lake

Kesagami, surrounded by immense areas of barren muskeg, with miles of shores made up of peat cliffs and beaches of gravel thrown onto peat bogs, held little attraction to primitive man. At any rate I feel that it was not inhabited to the degree that his discarded artifactual remains are discernible to an operation such as ours. Perhaps its importance to the Hudson's Bay Company in the eighteenth century was in aiding it to compete for the fur trade of Abitibi. I believe that Indians occupied the Kesagami district only when quantities of beaver in the more populated areas of Abitibi Lake and Moose River declined. The deposit at Newnham Narrows may represent a site of the transitional period, following the discontinuance of stone chipping and use of pottery. That prehistoric implements are present at that latitude is well exemplified by the wide variety collected by the Rogers brothers in their expedition to Lake Mistassini, northeast of Lake Kesagami.

During the first week of November, accompanied by Mr. T. E. Hawkins and Mr. W. Pronk, I set up camp at the Montreal River site on the shore of Lake Timiskaming. In a week we excavated twelve 5 foot squares to an average depth of 2 feet. Some sixty items, comprising points, knives, scrapers and pottery, were recovered. This—the third expedition to this site—brings the excavated area to 1275 square feet.

I am gratefully indebted to the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board for a grant to help defray the expenses of these archaeological activities.

THE PUCKASAW PIT CULTURE: A PILOT STUDY *By J. N. Emerson*

In early July a small group set out from Marathon in the tug *Polygon* for Red Sucker Point, eight miles to the west. The tug drew precariously close in to shore and our gear was unloaded upon the inhospitable beach. Laboriously we struggled up and across the first and second beaches strewn with decaying pulp logs and the debris of lake vessels. We pitched our camp above the last storm beach, pulled up our boat, and with some apprehension watched the tug leave and the waves pounding upon the rugged shoreline of our new home away from home.

We were impressed with a sense of desolation and isolation which characterized the area; it was barren, almost devoid of birds and the usual small woods animals. We lashed down our tents with pine logs and rocks and set about our task.

Our work was largely sponsored by the Canada Council, with aid also from the Archaeological and Historical Sites Board of Ontario, and with very great material aid and interest by the Marathon Corporation supplies, and their tugs dropped by from time to time with mail and supplies. They provided us with a boat and outboard motor which allowed us to go to town upon calm days. Even this was hazardous for the vagaries of Lake Superior are often violent and fraught with disaster. Only once, however, did we test the alternative route to town—two miles

through the dense, tangled bush to the railroad and eight miles down the track (and, of course, back)! We were not visited by many sightseers.

The expedition was a joint affair, involving personnel of the University of Toronto and the National Museum of Canada, and proved a mutually beneficial and productive type of arrangement.[10] The beaches at Red Sucker Point were selected for investigation because, upon the basis of our previous surveys, they represented the greatest concentration of pit structures found at any point along the shoreline. We felt that a detailed pilot study at this area would elucidate the problem and perhaps set the pattern for future investigation.

Our initial task was to define and survey the complex series of beaches, map them, establish their elevations, and study their constitution. Concurrently we carried out a meticulous search for all varieties and variations of man-made structures. These also had to be identified, categorized, described, photographed and mapped. The task was complicated by the drab, general uniformity of the cobbles making up the broad stretches of beach. Each aspect of the landscape blended into the next and made orientation difficult. Generally the beaches were devoid of trees, but there were areas, particularly upon the upper beaches and along the beach edges, where dense growth made definition difficult.

To facilitate our survey and maintain a permanent record for descriptive purposes and for future reference we marked the crest of each beach with a large boulder which we painted white, and marked in red with the beach number and its elevation. Sub-points upon the beaches were marked by placing beach cobbles painted yellow at strategic points along the beach crest.

Our next task was to provide some orientation for our pit structures for these had to be marked almost as they were encountered or they would dissolve into the drab uniformity of the surrounding environment of beach cobbles. Hence we placed four-foot stakes painted bright yellow in the centre of each structure, topping them with flags made from pulp pressings. The flags were painted yellow, green, red and other colours to indicate variations in the type of structure—round, rectangular, oval, circular and other. They allowed for ready identifications and enabled us to secure visual and photographic records of clustering and isolation in which we were interested.

While the survey work was being carried out, part of the crew set about analyzing beach composition in order to give us a firm basis upon of Canada, Marathon. The company generously helped us with camp which to compare the beaches at Red Sucker Point with others elsewhere along the Lake Superior shore, some of which were one hundred miles distant. In this way we hope to ascertain the possible problem of dif-

10. The crew comprised Jim Wright, University of Wisconsin, (Associate Field Director), Mark Molot (National Museum Representative), Bruce Doidge, University of Toronto, Milton McQuaig, Cornwall, and John Fowell, Toronto. Wallace Rice of the Quebec Archaeological Association and Lloyd Scott of the Ontario Archaeological Society spent considerable time with us.

ferential land rise in relation to falling water levels. Our technique of analysis was to collect data upon the length, width and thickness of all the rocks at the surface of a 5-foot square located on the central crest of each beach. These rocks were also categorized as to shape. Our only deviation from this technique was made necessary when we encountered a beach made up of a heavy concentration of very small, almost uniform pebbles. Here it seemed useless to tabulate similar specimens numbering in the thousands; so a one-foot square was checked as being representative and typical.

Geologically we have found a fascinating problem. The variations in beach structure are confounding. The intermixture of cobbular and angular rocks is not covered by traditional texts upon beach formations and it perplexed geologists who visited us. There are consolidated and unconsolidated beaches suggesting differential rates in the fall of water levels to confuse and add to the intriguing problem. This will call for further and more detailed beach studies, probably to a greater depth. Because our best clues to chronological cultural relationships will probably depend upon an understanding of falling water levels, this aspect of the study—obviously more geological than cultural—seems to be crucial.

Our final and perhaps most important purpose was the recovery of cultural remains. This was certainly our most difficult task. The peculiar situation was virtually unique in Ontario archaeology—there was no "digging" to be done. Excavation was a simple, labourious, back-breaking job of removing (i.e. heaving, throwing, rolling and struggling with) boulders. The beaches were a mass of boulders, and also a comparable mass of crevices. To illustrate, Mr. Wright dropped five quarters upon the beach near camp, and at once started to remove rocks to retrieve them. One quarter was retrieved at a depth of two feet. The rest are now archaeological specimens. Our only chance of recovering cultural remains was to get down to either a large, flat rock, or a consolidated layer of small, compact pebbles that would arrest the downward migration of material. Otherwise we would have to excavate to bedrock—no small problem. We did recover material, and of this we feel justifiably proud, despite its comparative meagerness.

The positive results of our summer investigations may be precisely stated. Close scrutiny of the entire area, which involved four major beach areas, revealed 70 structures, an increase of 27 over those noted in our 1957 survey. We anticipate a similar increase in other areas, if the finds at Red Sucker Point are typical. On the basis of more detailed work we were able to isolate six types of structures instead of the four suggested by the 1957 survey. Moreover this variation in type appears to represent a temporal sequence with different forms associated with different beaches, the most recent being closest to the present lake shore.

We now know that there are a series of 27 raised beaches at Red Sucker Point. We know that there are probably significant differences

in beach constitution. We also know that the highest one is 130 feet above the present level of Lake Superior and that structures occur upon the thirty-foot beach—apparently the most recent, archaeologically speaking. Elsewhere the reports of Puckasaw Pit structures put them on the 400 feet elevations. This is fascinating and indicates the open-ended nature of our research.

Interested as we were in the geological problem, our prime purpose was the recovery of cultural material. In this we were successful. We investigated five structures at various beach levels and found material in two. These were at the lowest, or most recent, levels and consisted of pottery, flint chips, worked flint, caribou teeth, clam shells and burned animal bones. The finds were not significant nor diagnostic in terms of material previously known in Ontario. However, they do point towards ultimate answers to questions already raised concerning the identification and function of this culture.

The pottery is very fragmented and quite friable, but it is made by the paddle-and-anvil technique rather than coiling. It is brown to orange in colour, grit-tempered, and fired at reasonably high temperatures. A few fragments indicate external maleation, perhaps with a cord-wrapped paddle. The remainder are plain. Interiors indicate no encrustation. The pottery presents no diagnostic features which allow a clear cultural identification, but it does seem to remove the possibility that these lower beach structures were made by Eskimo. It would appear that the culture is Indian and we might assign 3500 years ago as a maximum date for the lower beaches. Likely they will turn out to be much more recent.

The fact that pottery has not yet been recovered from the upper and central beaches leaves the possibility of a pre-ceramic occupation. Chips of unworked flint, worked fragments, clam shells, caribou teeth and burned and weathered animal bones both large and small accentuate the hunting nature of the economy and suggest caribou as being basic. The size and numbers of the pit structures suggest that hunting groups based upon the nuclear family were appropriate to this economy. None of the flint material presents diagnostic features. However the delicate nature of the work indicates real facility in this field.

Additional survey carried out at Detention Island and Monmouth Island revealed the presence of over forty additional Puckasaw Pit Culture structures. But most important, it appears to add real evidence to substantiate the seafaring ability of these people, and to confirm the function of the Pit type of structure proposed by Colin MacMillan of Marathon.

We are confident that the veil of mystery is beginning to be lifted from the Puckasaw Pit people. Future plans call for intensive, deep excavation of structures at Red Sucker Point. This will be a minor engineering task to guard against cave-in and injury. But it appears to be the only feasible approach to further definition of Puckasaw Pit Culture.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. Several special volumes of documentary material also are available, including the first two volumes of the Ontario Local Histories Series, "The Valley of the Trent" by E. C. Guillett and "Royal Fort Frontenac" by R. A. Preston and L. Lamontagne, $3.50 to members.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

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